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SOULBOOK 2



jazz
economics
poetry
anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

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editorial board : donald freeman, issac moore, ernest
allen jr., carroll holmes, kenn m. freeman, bobb hamilton.

new york representative : bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new
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ERRATA

1. page 88: 'agressive' should be aggressive; and 'agression' should be aggression; line 14 & line line 18 respectively.
2. page 93: 'usgestion' should be suggestion -- on line 5
3. page 97: line 3 should read; "....Lumumba never subscribed.."
4. page 102: 'complet' should be complete -- on line 6
5. page 103: line 20 'Bustin E.' should appear after 'Page 18'
6. page 112: line 38; should read; "...Stackolee would be horrified.
7. page 125: line 8; 'go na' should read gonna
8. page 129: line 8; 'cill' should be chill
9. page 137: lines:21 & 24: 'Niagera' should be Niagara on former 'publi' should be publicity on the latter line

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EL HAJJI MALIK SHABAZZ: LEADER, PROPHET, MARTYR.

by bobb hamilton

"If I die in Atlanta, look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for with God's grace, I shall come and bring with me the countless millions of blacks slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for liberty, freedom and life."

So wrote Garvey from a federal prison cell in Atlanta, Georgia--they didn't kill him; they smeared his name, his cause, his people, us! "Tray, I will not kill thee," said the "good" Quaker, "but I will give thee a bad name!" And then they exiled his husk. They were more sure of the immortality of their power. Had not Garvey himself said, "No law but Strength; No Justice but Power"? He was right, and white folks knew it because they had the power; there was no need to kill a black revolutionary then, for whites would rule as long as the sun rolled from East to West. But then one day the sun cast its life-giving light on a boy-child whose mother named him Malcolm, Malcolm Little whose deeds would one day belie his surname, who would cast off the surname as a proud prophet, a mountain of a man, who would loom large and black, who would become our greatest and, as it is in the nature of things, outshine his "father!" They had cast out Garvey, lest his people should see his example and emulate him to the detriment of White America! They had failed in their purpose--and besides, most of Africa and most of Asia had thrown off the shackles. Garvey had come back with his millions of black souls; prison would not work this time--they had to make an example of Malcolm, and so they murdered him, as surely as they murdered Lumumba in Africa, as surely as they murder our brothers in Viet Nam.

Black hands pulled the triggers as they did with Lumumba, but they were greasy with white American money. Malcolm had asked the white

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power structure, which willed his death, for "police protection"; there were at least a half a dozen cops "incognito" present when he was assassinated. Were they there to protect or to make sure that the deed was done well -- of course it was the latter! His house was fire bombed first, and they said it was the work of "Black Muslims" who threw the bombs from a moving automobile--into the kitchen and into the living room? Did they also throw a bottle of poison ONTO THE bureau of his childrens' room? And are we expected to believe that they (the "Muslims") also left two or three cards on the SIDEWALK in FRONT OF THE HOUSE ? "The people from Muhammad's group did it," screamed that scabrous bar-room bitch, the white press, in chorus, on cue! Maybe so, probably so, possibly so, but who paid them off! If the "Black Muslims" did it, why has Elijah NOT BEEN QUESTIONED , not subpoenaed? Was there a deal with the power structure when he became more than the spokesman of a "ridiculous" sect?

"I will not kiss your fucking flag.....there is some shit I will not eat." So said e.e. cummings in "I sing of Olaf."

Washington (cracker Johnson included) breathed a sigh of relief when Malcolm's life was blown out. He had broken out of the unrealistic three states nonsense; he had gone to Africa and garnered the support of our black brothers there; he had become an orthodox Muslim--they could no longer call him a cultist but he had done a much more dangerous thing! He had shown US black males HOW to be MEN! And America cannot tolerate men, not even WHITE MEN . Afro-American males live only as long as they are content with not being men. Only as long as they pray and sing hymns while their women are abused, beaten, and raped, their children brain washed, spat upon on the way to a decent school, shocked with cattle prods by crackers!

Malcolm X showed us that we did have to "prove" ourselves worthy of the title, "Humanity," that it was better to be unpopular (with two balls) than to be loved with none. This is not the time for delicacy--if there are readers here who are still weighed down with white sensibilities, white standards of niceness, let them turn the page, for I am writing, naught for your comfort.

"The Negro baby born in America today--regardless of the section or State in which he is born--has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 per year, life expectancy which is seven years less, and the

prospects of earning only half as much."

"Here we have in a capsule a prescription for permanent dependency and an indictment of our society. At a time when the world condemns the crime of genocide, how can we tolerate the destruction of an entire race by means less swift, perhaps, but in the long run as effective as those used by the Nazis?

Now Malcolm X didn't say this. These are statements by J. F. Kennedy--of course he was courting the black vote; nevertheless, they are true-- and Deputy Commissioner Sokol, see the December, 1963 issue of the "Welfarer," put out by the New York City Department of Welfare!

Malcolm showed us that the white man in America was engaged in a state of total warfare against black people.

Even in death whitey tried to make Malcolm on with nothingness! They juggled the figures of the number of people who marched past his bier. 22,000 they say. The count was 60,920 before his funeral! And the funeral, I was there. I was in line at 7:00 o'clock that bleak bonecracking cold morning of February 27th; cops all around, mostly black, "guarded" the church; I stood in line--a line that went clear around the block--and we waited thirty minutes past the funeral time. They tried to freeze us out, until they let us in. In spite of statements by the New York Times, America's secular bible, there were not 600, but a full 1000 in the church auditorium. They would not let the 500 capacity basement be filled, on the grounds of security! There he lay, our fallen fortress, encased in glass and dull bronze, just below the choir loft, the choir loft full of white and carbon copy photographers, whispering and burning out flash bulbs. White folks in brogans and work clothes stringing wires and floodlights up and down the aisles, and then a soul brother went up to the pulpit and said, "There were some agreements made with the press and the communications people about this funeral; all television camera-men and photographers were supposed to be here, in the choir section; there were to be no wires and cameras down in the congregation--now get these wires and floodlights out of the aisles--right now. You seem to have forgotten or misunderstood our agreement. Get that equipment out of the aisles right now, and come up here where you belong!" And I shouted out loud, "Right!" And when an ofay reached across me to get his camera pouch, I said, "get that stuff out of here; respect our church like you would a service at St. Patrick's or a synagogue!" Like a church or a synagogue; the place was swarming with black lackey cops--male and female--if this had been a

funeral in a white house of worship, the Irish or Jewish fuzz would made sure that no circus atmosphere would have intruded into the place. White folks set the standards, but they are for us. They acted like pigs at Malcolm's funeral and pigs they were! The whorish press did not mention this. They were too eager to bury Malcolm! To bury our martyr beneath the offal of white newsprint and black ink! The rest you know. Ossie Davis' magnificent eulogy, Ruby Dee's readings, the speech by the Muslim Student. Need I tell you about the heart-piercing wails of Betty Shabazz as they closed the coffin? Need I tell you about my bitter and profuse tears, my breathlessness, my running nose? Need I describe my pride--even in the sorrowful circumstances--of my pride at being a black man? Outside there were at least another 5000 black folks watching "them" shove a shell into a hearse and speed away at 70 miles per hour. They think they buried Malcolm; they buried a husk. He lives, He breathes! He walks and talks twenty-five million strong! Look for us in the whirlwind!!

"The murder of Malcolm X, led to a tide of fury everywhere, and the demonstrations in Selma, Alabama have won the admiration of the entire world. In my August 17th speech two years ago, I said without the slightest hesitation: 'the negroes in America are now in a process of revolution.' As in the case of all revolutions, their revolution too will be victorious in the end." President Sukarno of Indonesia, Black Flag, No. 6, (April 29, 1965), pp. 7-8 .

FOR MALCOLM

Ageless time and mother earth
 Endless cotton and despair
 False promise
 Punctured tambourine
 Truth-eloquence
 Hibernating ghetto come alive

Truth
 Blood
 Death
 Divide and

But the undeniable message had been given

In the pallid house-cave
 amid deserted and decaying ruins

an idict babbles

incoherently, toying incessantly
 with tiger cutouts on bandung floors
 Liar-Beast-Jingoist
 filthywhoresondecadentmf

Suddenly

Under a cover of dawn

faint throbs of stirring life

yes

Slowrising waves of enveloping black fire
 encased in hollowed shells of scarred human lives
 become one

Yes

Saberteeth crack and fall in the
 intense heat of black whirlwinds,
 and life's new hope is revealed to me

Yes!

Hear the mighty pulse of the drum!
 Universal heartbeat of black soul-
 vibrant with angry black palms
 angry with vibrant black palms
 Of wood and dried sheepskin and scarred
 as if in witness of previous battle

but

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A message-the same message

A Message of Truth
and of Blood and

A Message:

Awaken, Sleeping Warriors!

Arise, My Brothers, Arise!

Let us, with the flaming torches of Revolutionary Justice,
heed the call

of the drum

of Chaka

of Vesey

of Prosser

of Turner

of Garvey

of Lumumba

of Malcolm

of Blackness!

by ernie allen

DID THE UNITED NATIONS BENEFIT THE CONGO?

SOME IMPORTANT MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CONGO (L)

Colin Legum admits that the U.N. made many serious mistakes in the Congo, but he goes on to say with apparent candor:

"If there is neither chaos nor anarchy today, it is solely due to the UN operations. If the Belgians are now able to return in large numbers it is because of the security provided by the UN forces. If the Congo has, so far, avoided being swept into the arena of an armed conflict between rival foreign powers it is owing to the UN presence. These successes overshadow all its weaknesses and failures."

Although this statement (or because of) was written well before the return of Tshombe and the departure of the UN troops from the Congo, it is fraught with untruths and gross exaggerations. On the other hand it is a very important position because it is the view of the most intelligent liberal milieu in the western European and American circles of African studies. The credentials of Colin Legum as an Africanist are very impressive. His book, Pan-Africanism, is the best English language work on that subject. His other books, if not as good, certainly approach the best in the field of African Studies from a western viewpoint. But! The farcical nature of the contentions that he maintains in his defense of the UN operation mirrors how backward western thought is in interpreting African realities--particularly when it regards African relations with things the west considers sacrosanct.

In the first place, since he wrote the above statement in 1961, how could he state conclusively that the UN operation in the Congo was a success when it was not even finished? It is obvious Mr. Legum, with all his fine latitudinarian credentials, is begging the question. It is only now, when the UN operation in the Congo is over, that one can assess whether the successes of the UN "peace-keeping" operation in the Congo(L) "overshadow all its weaknesses and failures."

Now it is obvious that the UN operation in the Congo did not eliminate chaos and anarchy from Congo (L). Even before the UN operation left the

Congo, Kwilu province was in open rebellion and it was not long before the rebellion had extended to virtually half of the Congo. Thus the UN not only did not stop the anarchy and chaos in the Congo, but as we shall see later in this paper it encouraged disorder and disrespect for authority.

Legum feels that the UN saved the Congo from being "swept into the arena of an armed conflict between rival foreign powers." It is true that there has been no mass confrontation in the Congo a la Korea. But how would any objective person classify Thombe's declaration of an "open season" policy on Congolese mothers and children and his giving an exclusive hunting license to decadent Cuban exiles, mammon-mad Congolese quislings, and the arch-enemies of all Black people: South African fascists? This sort of action and the murderous hypocritical onslaught on Stanleyville is the reality of the armed conflict between aggressive foreign powers and innocent Congolese people.

Because of the U.S.-Belgium chronic intervention in the Congo(L), their nationals are no more safe in the Congo than at the time of the 1959 anti-Belgian riots that swept the Congo. The Stanleyville aggression and the inhuman record of White mercenaries in Congo(L) have revived the hatred for Whites in the Congo. Right after the Stanleyville episode a Dutch employee from Stanleyville was quoted as saying: "Something has happened in the Congo in the last few months. It more than a political struggle; the natives are different. They seem to hate all whites. I left because my life was in danger. The Congo will never be the same again."2. M. Lejeune, a French Correspondent in Leopoldville, stated the causes of this situation with more lucidity: "Massacred by the American and Belgian military, the insurgents threatened to revenge themselves on American and Belgian civilians."3. In the way just indicated it is ironic that those who condemn the Congolese for hating whites have precipitated this very phenomenon(There is much evidence which suggests that they wanted it this way so that the "free" world would have an excuse to intervene in the Congo).

But the main point here is that despite all the elaborate precautions by the UN military operation to protect lives in the Congo, Belgians (and all other people) are still not safe in the Congo. It must be added that with the hired South African killers attempting (with the Congolese government's approval and encouragement*) to put an end to the very existence of the Congolese people there is easily a hundred times the danger of murder of Blacks in Congo(L) than a similar fate for whites in the same area!!!!

THE CONGO AGGRESSION: A THREAT TO ALL OF AFRICA

The presence of South African and other white racist mercenaries in Congo(L) is extremely ominous in another sense. There can be no doubt that this South African penetration represents one of the spectres of a counter-offensive by Verwoerd and his aparta-hate gang against all of Africa. The African National Congress expressed this precisely in a recent issue of its weekly publication, SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA:

"The presence of South African mercenaries in the Congo.....as well as other economic and political manoeuvres by Verwoerd are part of a grand imperialist plan to dig the military trenches and fortifications of the Verwoerd regime far beyond the borders of South Africa." 4.

It is quite clear that the white mercenaries are working very closely with the South African Government. Just recently it was reported that "colonel" Mike Hoare, leader of the mercenaries in the Congo, flew to Pretoria, South Africa for top-level conferences with the leaders of the South African Government.⁵

One thing we assess from this is that it is as plain as the nose on our Afroamerican faces that the attempted imperialist rape of the Congo(L) is the pivotal point of the African Revolution. For if the plundering of Congo(L) succeeds, South Africa, in order to make its fascism secure and supreme on the African Continent, will attempt to destroy or weaken all of Independent Africa. The United States will be (and is) more than happy to assist in recarving up Africa in order to supplement its chronic "banana republic"* diet with Africa's copper-coated, alumina-filled, diamond-studded, cobalt-cased pills. Then we must realize that there are also many other guests with insatiable desires that will be at South Africa's proposed political consumption of Africa. We must be alarmed at France's craving for Gabonese wealth and Algerian oil along with Bonn's lust for any deal to get a hold of South African uranium; not to mention London's cupidity to hold on at any cost to their lucrative trade and investments in South Africa. All of these omnivorous nations are proven enemies of Africa, and willing allies of South African Hitlerism. Who can deny it? Certainly NATO's open complicity with white supremacist Africa in Congo(L) proscribes the possibility of Washington passing these facts off to the world as mere Marxist jargon!

But the other side of the African Revolutionary coin illustrates that the filthy imperialists have not won the fight in Congo(L); on the contrary, their diabolical actions in the Congo have thoroughly exposed their true purposes, and because of this the African forces that have been progressive for a long time have won much of the continent over to

the militant anti-imperialist camp. At the same time, the Congolese people have learned valuable lessons in their fight against the forces antagonistic to their interests, and are now fighting more successfully against the foreign military pressure in the Congo(L).⁶.

But the struggle will be difficult and bloody, and (as this paper will indicate) the U.N. Congo operation had much to do with the present intensity of the difficulties that beset the ravaged Congo.

"No matter how events shape out, even if they are unfavourable for us, it will be useful for Africa, which is now watching us and closely following what is happening here -- it will be a university of struggle for it.." Patrice Lumumba, Fighter For Africa's Freedom. (Moscow), page 79--quote is by Lumumba--



Patrice Lumumba's last photograph with his three children
—François, Patrice and Juliana—before they were sent to
Cairo

LUMUMBA'S OBJECTIVES AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UN IN CONGO(L) CONFLICT:
THE SEEDS OF THE CONGO DISASTER ARE SOWN.

After all the stench-filled smoke sent up by the Western press has been cleared, it is obvious to even the naive that the U.N. Congo Operation was framed from the beginning, as seen in the following context expressed by President Kwame Nkrumah:

"First, the Security Council, in particular, and to some extent also the General Assembly has allowed itself to become mesmerized by the problem of the cold war. Every solution to the Congo problem was therefore worked out in terms of cold war politics....." 7.

And it was Ralph Bunche who exposed to the world how crassly paternalistic he was toward his own race, and also made it clear how this cold war perspective was to be carried out when he told the U.N. civil staff in the Congo that: "You are here in the Congo to pacify the Congo and then to administer it." 8.

Is this what Prime Minister Lumumba wanted the U.N. to do in the Congo? Absolutely not. When Lumumba asked the U.N. to enter the Congo he wanted: (1) to force the withdrawal of Belgian military personnel from the Congo, (2) maintain Congolese territorial integrity and the establishment of the Central Government's authority throughout the country, (3) to protect lives and property in the Congo and, (4) the restoration of the status quo BEFORE THE BELGIAN AGGRESSION against the Congo (L) Republic. 9.&10.

The fact of Belgian aggression is extremely important because it is the key to Lumumba's understanding of the Congo's problems and also his fatal differences with the UN. Here is how the late Patrice Lumumba expressed it:

"One fact must be understood: but for the flagrant intervention of Belgian troops we could have gradually normalized the situation.

The following fact still remains true: peace and security in the Congo can be restored only when the last Belgian soldier is withdrawn." 11.

From the outset it must be realized that Lumumba correctly saw the problem as a war between the Congo(L) and a foreign aggressor-state, which had established its military regime in Katanga Province. By all the standards of universally-accepted International Law, Belgium had committed aggression against Congo(L), and all available evidence showed that it was the military backbone of the Katangese secession movement. 12.

But the U.N. Security Council and Hammerskoljd had other interpretations and "solutions" for the Congolese crisis. In its Resolution of July 14, 1960 the Security Council did not name Belgium as the aggressor; it merely "called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo." 13.

This variation from the Congolese Government's point of view was significant, but it was Hammerskoljd who interpreted the July 14th Resolution in such a way that both Lumumba's position and that of the U.N. Security Council became so irreconcilable that Lumumba's government and the U.N. Congo Operation were put on a collision course; the Secretary-General, displaying the usual western european attitudes of pro-NATOism and anti-Blackism, reasoned that the nature of the Katangese secession did not stem from Belgian aggression or the presence of Belgian troops in any part of the Congo, nor from "a wish of the authorities of the province to secede from the Republic of the Congo. THE QUESTION IS A CONSTITUTIONAL ONE WITH STRONG UNDER CURRENTS OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE POLITICAL AIMS."¹⁴.

So here we see Hammerskoljd not only exonerating white Belgium for the blame of the upheaval in Congo(L),¹⁵ & ¹⁶. but he goes on to blatantly ignore the tomes of facts that showed that the motives behind the Katangese leaders definitely had 'a wish to secede from the Republic of the Congo; and then he interferes in a most contemptuous manner in Congolese internal affairs by questioning the VALIDITY of the Congolese FUNDAMENTAL LAW and the AUTHORITY of the Congolese National Government. One can only wonder what would have happened if Hammerskoljd had ever questioned the validity of the U.S. Constitution, and the authority of the U.S. Federal Government--it would have been surprising if he would not have lost his cushy U. N. job.

But Hammerskoljd was not about to lose his job because he interfered in Congolese politics; on the contrary, all the available evidence points to the view that he held his job and was revered by the west BECAUSE his actions and views were consistent with western interests--primarily U.S. interests--and antithetical to enlightened African interests, specifically the interests of the Congo (Lumumba's) Government.

UNITED STATES CONTROL OF THE UN CONGO MISSION: HOW IT WAS DONE

In fact, Hammerskoljd had organized the UN secretariat so that it was controlled completely by U.S. personnel. This was done in such a way that Macchiavelli probably turned over in his grave with envy. To make the important decisions vis-a-vis the Congo, Hammerskoljd not only passed over the General Assembly selected Congo Advisory Committee, but also special care was taken to ensure that all correspondence received by the United Nations Secretariat from the Congo was kept out of the hands of the General Assembly, Security Council, and Mr. Arkadev, the undersecretary from the Soviet Union.

To pull this off Hammerskoljd broke every rule in the proverbial book; he knew that the General Assembly and the Security Council needed this information from the Congo in order to make correct and timely decisions, but he confided in those that most maliciously subverted the

authority of the U.N. legislative bodies.¹⁷ For example, when Lumumba was illegally deposed by Mobutu and Kasavubu, Hammerskoljd's "Congo Club" recommended that the UN recognize the "government" of Joseph Ileo. However, the head of the UN Congo Mission, Rajeshwar Dayal, balked at this dictatorial suggestion and instead took steps to protect the Congolese Parliament--which was the repository of legal authority in Congo(L). As if Dayal crucified Jesus Christ, the U.S. press let loose a tirade against him that would make any independent observer think that McCarthyite tactics --by McCarthyites--had been brought to the Congo: They called Dayal a "pro-Communist and an advocate of an "Indian Policy" in the Congo. Not unexpectedly, Dayal soon resigned from his post, and predictably it was not long before the Kasavubu delegation (Ileo's political pals) was recognized by the U.N. General Assembly.¹⁸

Who were these U.S. officials who posed as international civil servants and who called themselves the "Congo Club"? They were:

Andrew Cordier, who is now the head of Columbia University's School of International Affairs. Apparently Cordier made no bones about his allegiance to Washington in any important situation, because O'Brien in his classic, To Katanga And Back, says: "A man like Andrew Cordier, so far from 'not giving a damn what Washington said', was an expert at judging the force and probably duration of gusts from the Potomac, and therein precisely lay his main value to the organization."¹⁹ It is undeniable that this type of person from every country is necessary in the UN insofar as the UN, being an international organization, needs to assay very carefully the positions of the various national capitals of the world (This is particularly important with capitals such as Washington, Moscow and whether Washington likes it or not, Peking). But should a person the likes of Cordier be put into a position such as a member of the "Congo Club"? The negative answer was obvious to the aware Afro-Asians, the Socialist Camp, and to Lumumba.

If there were any doubts about Cordier's commitment to an anti-Congolese policy they were completely expunged when he used UN troops to close down Radio Leopoldville so Lumumba could not speak to the Congolese Nation. It really does not have to be mentioned that he (Cordier) did not close down Tshombe's Elizabethville radio nor stop Kasavubu from using the Brazzaville Radio. At the time, this was of decisive importance in contributing to Lumumba's political downfall (and the temporary collapse of the effectiveness of the Congolese anti-imperialist movement) because Cordier saw to it that Lumumba could not mobilize people (who were--and still are-- passionately pro-Lumumbist; in fact he has been the only Congolese leader who could appeal and obtain the allegiance of Black Congolese regardless of their tribal background.²⁰) in behalf of their chosen government. In fact, Cordier's action was so destructive that

O'Brien states : "Had it not been for Mr. Cordier's vigorous action, there is little doubt that the support Lumumba could have rallied at this crucial moment would have been most formidable."21.

Some people have asked that if the UN was so detrimental to the Congo, then why didn't Lumumba attempt to get more help from sources other than the UN. He did try. But again, it was Cordier who, being forever faithful to his racist Washington masters, closed all the Congo Airports to non-UN traffic, thus rendering it impossible for Lumumba to obtain outside aid for the Congo.22.

The next member of the group was the previously-mentioned nigger of niggers, Ralph Bunche; he started playing "d'fink" quite early in the game, for he was reported to have been in the Congo at the time of the independence celebrations and apparently was quite alarmed because he notified Hammerskoljd in Geneva that "trouble" was around the corner in the Congo and that the Western powers should be informed so that they could take the initiative (meaning so they could commit aggression).23.

Bunche was also very instrumental in eliminating one of the best opportunities to eradicate a major source of disorder in Congo(L), but first I want to give some background into this problem; one of Lumumba's main problems was the mutinous Congolese Army which was more interested in pay checks than in protecting their own country. So it was obvious to all informed persons that at the time the Congolese National Army needed to be disarmed and retrained. But when the Ghanaian UN contingent attempted to disarm the "Force Publique," Bunche stopped them from doing so.24.

So it is a sorry commentary on the "responsible" American Negro "leadership" that one of its most prestigious members played a decisive role in frustrating the heroic Black Leadership in the richest land of Afroamerica's ancestors. As a result of Bunche's asininity the creation of a strong disciplined Congolese Army, which was one of the best tools for the elimination of chaos and anarchy in Congo(L), was not attempted until it was too late; and it was too late when Lumumba was killed, because he was (and has been) the only principal--up until now--who could fashion the very necessary mechanism of a strong Congolese National Party.

Not only did Bunche contribute to Lumumba's political (and also physical?) demise, but he supported those who were the Congolese minions of unscrupulous foreign powers (birds of a feather really do flock together!). It was Bunche who ordered the December, 1962 ceasefire that enabled Tshombe's shattered troops to reorganize. And many believe he was responsible for Tshombe's success in upsetting the December, 1961 Congo Unity Conference that was held at Kitona.

Heinz Weischoff was the last thug-member of the "Congo Club" who had control over Congo Policy of the UN. He was the "international" civil

servant who was responsible for keeping relevant information out of the reach of his superior, the Russian Undersecretary Arkadev, who actually had more right of access to the information than any of the members of the so-called "Congo Club."²⁶

Apparently Wicschoff was not only politically ultra-conservative, but was an out-and-out racist. He and his friends were accused by Afro-Asians as chronically refering to all Afro-Asians as "Mau-Mau."²⁷ In the frame of reference of an American Goldwaterite this could only have negative connotations.

It must be added that when the Afro-Asian and Socialist press started to effectively criticize the American monopoly of Congo Policy, Hammerskoljd quickly included 3 neutrals (from countries all friendly to the U.S.) and an Englishman in the "Congo Club." But they were never included into more than the integument of this group of machiavellian clowns.

Through this clique, the U.S. controlled the UN Congo "mission" policy until the death of Hammerskoljd. Upon Hammerskoljd's death, the U.S. had to often use different octopus-like methods to achieve their greedy aims, but subsequent events proved that on a short-range basis they have been just as successful as when they had their number one lackey Dog Hammerskoljd in charge.

SUMMARY OF POINTS MADE SO FAR

"Humbling, too, was the realization that the United Nations, in which we had all put our facile school boy hopes, was nothing more or less than another manipulable factor in the cold war, at the moment in the hands of the almighty dollar."Armah, Aryee-quaye, "Lumumba Still Speaks," Drum (Ghana Edition), February, 1965 *.

I have already demonstrated, by refuting Legum's thesis, that the UN failed in the Congo much more than it succeeded. I have also shown that the U.S. not only gained complete control of the UN policy in the Congo, but also that U.S. Government's agents masquerading as U.N. officials saw to it that U.S. interests were paramount at all important turns of events in Congo(L). I have also argued that the Security Council's Resolutions vis-a-vis the Congo compromised severely the position of the Congo(L) Government; and Hammerskoljd twisted the resolutions in such a way that the UN position on the Congo crisis and the position held by Lumumba's government became absolutely irreconcilable. But Hammerskoljd did not stop there; he actually condemned the legality of the authority of the Congolese Central Government, thus guaranteeing him the necessary legal fiction to back those policies and people which his masters in the White House so desired. One can argue that I cannot know Hammerskoljd's motives in intervening in the internal and constitutional affairs of Congo(L). This is true, but in spite of that, he DID back pro-US policies and

people at decisive times--and it was precisely his denial of the authority of the Congolese National Government that gave him the legal precedent and sanction to usurp the legitimate leaders of the Congo and support Congolese traitors. That is why I stated that when the conflicting interpretations by Lumumba and Hammerskoljd of the Security Council's resolutions came into existence, the seeds of disaster for Congo(L) were sown; specifically this meant that it was the beginning of the actual U.S. aggression against the Congo with the complete support of the UN policy makers and most of the executors. Now we shall go on and see how the "Onusians"*** supported the 'negro stooges' in the Congo.

U. N. SUPPORT OF CONGOLESE TRAITORS

In the manner explained above, the United Nations was catering to the interests of the west--led by the United States; moreover it was establishing Congolese sycophants of the U.S. into control of the Congo(L) Government.

I have already mentioned how Ralph Bunche helped Tshombe's separatist cause. But there is much more to this story than that.

The U.N. civil operation in the Congo, despite all the platitudes which have been raised about how much it eliminated disease, etc. in Congo(L), it contributed substantially to the inflicting of the very emasculating disease of subjugation of the Congolese people to traitors who have eagerly handed their people over to U.S. dollarism. This is how it happened :

After Congo(L) had achieved independence, Lumumba's Government was bankrupt because the Bank of Belgium had run off with the Congo's gold and currency reserves so as to paralyze this government's monetary policy in favor of the Belgians. But after the U.N. civil staff entered Congo(L) they, for some unexplained reason, never saw fit while Lumumba was in power to eliminate this blatant foreign intervention in the Congo's monetary policy.*

However when the 'persona grata' of the U.S., Mobutu staged his successful U.S. inspired coup d'etat^{28&29} the U.S. "just happened" to start co-operating with Mobutu's appointed head of the Congolese Monetary Council, M. Ndele. Although the treasury was empty when Ndele took over, the UN promptly filled it with 250 million brand new Belgian Francs.³⁰

But this was not all; according to the London Times³¹ the UN civil staff saw to it that Ndele was also made the head of the then newly formed Congolese National Bank. So under the pretext that it was instituting "monetary reform" in Congo(L), the United Nations financed the overthrow of the legitimate Congolese Government and the usurpation and maintenance of political power by the Congolese stooges of the CIA.

Some people have said that Lumumba was not extended financial aid by the UN because he was antagonistic and hostile to aspects of the UN operation in Congo(L). But to set the record straight, Lumumba subscribed to an anti-United Nations position. Lumumba made his position quite clear on this subject: "The Government and the people of the Congo continue to trust the U.N. and its Security Council. What we have condemned, and that can be proved, is only the method by which the UN Secretary-General sought to implement the Security Council's resolutions. He acted as though there were no Government of the Republic."³².

Be that as it may, If I do accept, for argument's sake, the supposition that Lumumba was hostile to aspects of the UN Congo operation, it must be mentioned that it was Mobutu who attacked the UN forces at Matadi, Congo³³. It is also instructive to note that when Hammerskoljd wrote to Kasavubu requesting that Lumumba be given all the rights and immunities of a legally-elected representative of parliament and the Red Cross be granted permission to examine Lumumba, Mobutu exposed his own colonial mentality by replying to Hammerskoljd with this ludicrous rebuttal: "Why does not the United Nations send an investigation commission to Hungary?"³⁴.

So now we see that in spite of the fact that both had talked and worked in opposition to the UN at various times Lumumba was politically destroyed with the help of the UN, and Mobutu was virtually installed in power by the UN.

Why the difference? I suggest that the only possible reasons were: that the U.S. State Department via the UN's American-controlled "Congo Club" had decided to freeze out Lumumba and raise 'strong man' Mobutu. In addition it must be remembered that it was the US who not only controlled the purse strings of the UN Congo Operation (actually the word should be surgery--that opened wounds-- instead of an operation), but "whitey," the international slavemaster, was also the underwriter of most of the UN budget³⁵. Consequently any checks to finance any UN Congo activity had to have the White House's OK plainly inscribed on it before it could be cashed in; and what is certain is that the U.S. had a cupidity to fill Mobutu's baggy pockets with gold, and the only thing they wanted to fill Lumumba with was bullets--and that is exactly what they did.

Now we will return to Legum's thesis and ask ourselves: What did the UN's civil

"It should be well known by now that Americans have no great love for Black men, and they love a militant Black man even less. And whatever else Lumumba was, He certainly was a militant Black man." Armah, Drum, (Ghana Edition)

staff's financial support of Mobutu's cabal do to eliminate chaos and anarchy in the Congo, help make it safe for lives and property in the Congo, and aid in avoiding an armed conflict between rival foreign powers in Congo(L)?

To back Mobutu was to bet on a lame, useless horse; he no more has the ability to organize a puppet army than he has the desire or ability to lead an army for a sovereign, independent Congo(L). Even his fans call him a "dilatatory commander-in-chief" who spends more time in Brussels, Belgium than in Leopoldville.³⁶ Even when in Leopoldville he wastes most of his time in the "Binza" district, the European quarter of the city.

Can a man of such inferior caliber eliminate the chaos and anarchy that has existed in Congo(L) since independence? The answer to this question is implicit in the fact that since the Congolese "army" (led by Mobutu) was being beaten so badly by the Congolese Freedom Fighters Tshombe called in the white fascist-thug mercenaries to lead the butchery of his own people.³⁷

Therefore we see that by the UN fully backing Mobutu they actually jarred the door wide open for an upsurge of foreign aggression in the Congo; and foreign aggression has always been the root cause of the chaos, anarchy, insecurity of lives and property in Congo(L).³⁸ At various times in this paper I have substantiated these charges against Belgium, the US, and South Africa; and it will not be long before I finish my case against the UN.

In all probability, one of the most hypocritical political moves of the 20th century has to be the UN's "integration" of the Katanga 'state' into the Congolese National Government, and the "overthrow" of Moïse Tshombe and his gang of imbecilic cutthroats.

Apparently AFTER the assassination of Patrice Lumumba the primary objective of the UN in Congo(L) became keeping a not-too-strong, pro-western government in power in Leopoldville, and at the same time restoring Afro-Asian confidence in the UN which had been severely shaken by Lumumba's death and the up-to-then UN fiasco of attempting to end the Katangese secession. So at a crippled snail's pace the UN started to move against Tshombe's stronghold.

The 'deal' was apparently closed when Union Minière, the erstwhile unchallenged monopoly in the Congo, saw that U.S. financial interests were going to be sure that profits would be divided by U.S. stooges in Leopoldville instead of by Belgium's uncle toms in Elizabethville, Katanga. So Belgium's slave-magnets decided to refuse to back Tshombe's Katanga State anymore. In this fashion the Congo reunification put together by the U.N. meant in its truest sense, "a rally around the stars and stripes"!

So in January, 1963, Tshombe gracefully bowed out of his secessionist role and, ostensibly, lost political power. Yet when the Katangese secession was crushed, the UN could have easily brought Tshombe and his rat-pack, led by Godefroid Munongo, to trial. In fact, this had been prescribed by paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution of February 21, 1961 and also by the findings of the Investigative Committee of the International Commission of Jurists (under the authority of the UN) which

clearly implicates Tshombe, Munongo and Kibwe in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues.³⁹ Nevertheless, U Thant, following in the muddy footsteps of the late Secretary-General Hammerskoljd, went along with the sympathies of the west--particularly the Ivey League "liberals" of Washington. This both White, and White-oriented junto side-stepped and blocked all attempts to bury "Bank-drawer"⁴⁰. Tshombe and his stooge-friends.

Why were they so interested in saving Tshombe and his gang of political racketeers? Dean, "clean-head" Rusk 'let the rat out of the bag' at the time of the U. N.'s takeover of Katanga, when he told the U.S. senate Foreign Relations Committee that it was decided to save Tshombe for a major role in the Congolese Government.⁴¹ Apparently the U. S. was--and still is--convinced that Moise Tshombe was the 'boy' who would be sure to deliver the wealth of the Congo to the altar of U.S. racist democracy---they were and still are demonstrably correct. What else is there to say? The events in the past 8 months in Congo(L) make Rusk look like a prophet in the most diabolical sense. The same events expose the United Nations Operation in Congo(L) and the activities of the U. N. Secretariat vis-à-vis Congo(L) as nothing less than accomplices in the conspiracy which was called "peace-keeping", but in the final analysis has precipitated the death of thousands of Black Congolese mothers, children and Freedom-fighters, and opened the door of the Congo to U. S. racist paternalism, greed, and filthy decadence.

SUMMARY

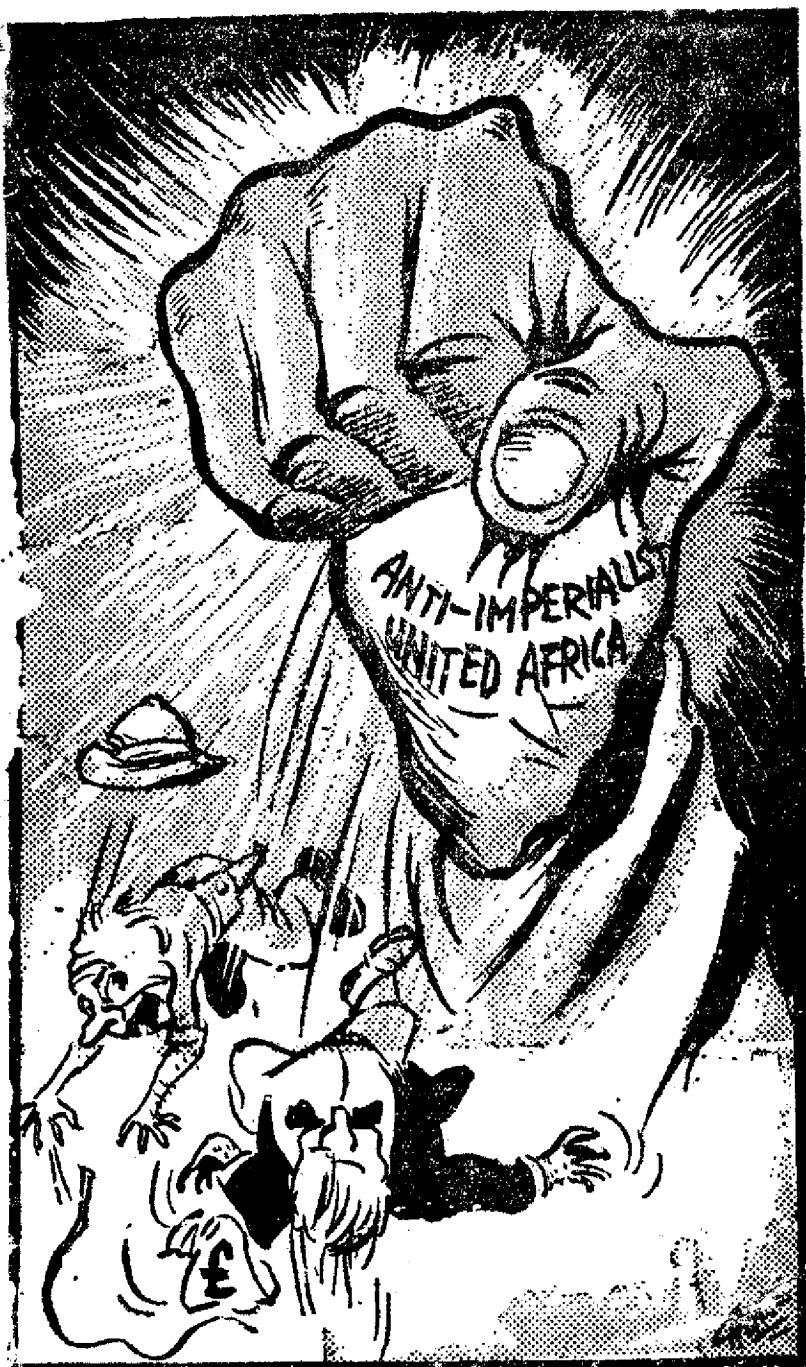
"To deceive the people is the same as trying to wrap fire in paper....
.....an African Proverb

I started out saying in this paper that I would indicate that the United Nations Congo Operation had much to do with the present intensity of the difficulties that beset the ravaged Congo(L). I must say I have overshot my objective; I have proven that the United Nations was the main vehicle for the continual anarchy and imperialist blood-sucking of the people and riches of the land which many of my ancestors most assuredly walked with pride, dignity and independence....My dead Brothers we shall walk in like manner again, again, again, again.....

So I am convinced that my Brothers and Sisters in the Congo will not in the final analysis be deceived by the likes of Tshombe, Cordier, Carl Rowan or Ralph Bunche. They will be strengthened by the memory of Lumumba, Malcolm X and the support of all Black Peoples of the world; and they will win their guerrilla war against the dirty white imperialists. Then, and only then in Harlem, U.S.A. and Leopoldville, Congo, as Frantz Fanon says:"The time for dancing in the streets has come."

"As so many of us were shocked and outraged at the reports of Dr. Ralph Bunche's apologies for the demonstrators (at the United Nations) we were also curious as to his mandate from our people to do so. In face of it, and apparently, on as much authority, I hasten publicly to apologize to Mme. Pauline Lumumba and the Congolese People for our Dr. Bunche." The late Lorraine Hansberry, New York Times, (March 26, 1961).

"What we had not known before, but came to realize with increasing force as the Congo crisis unfolded, was that in the isolation of the un-African, and at the time, increasingly anti-African context, we were living in, each of us was rapidly being pushed to consider himself a piece of Africa, carrying within himself a sort of African integrity." Ammah, Drum (Ghana edition), Feb., 1965.



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UNITY PUNCH:

FOOTNOTES

PART ONE: Some important misconceptions about the results of the U. N. operation in Congo(L)

1. Legum, Colin, Congo Disaster, Page 11
2. "Brussels Pressing Plans to Withdraw," New York Times, 11-27-64 page 1
(an unsigned news story)
3. Lejeune, M. , I. F. Stone's Weekly, 12-7-64 (translated from Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris, France)
 * page 88; not only does Tshombe have white supremacists from southern Africa, Cuba and the U. S. working for him, but his personal security guard is lead by Captain Faulques, a torture specialist, who's previous assignment was to apply his trade on Algerian Muslims for the French army. Small wonder Ben Bella is one of the leaders in the struggle to destroy Tshombe!

PART TWO : The Congo aggression: A threat to all of Africa

4. Editorial (unsigned), Spotlight On South Africa , January 15, 1965, page 2.
5. Sunday Express, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1/24/65
 * This term refers to the U.S. controlled central American States which are known for their export of large U.S.- owned crops of bananas; page 89
6. See the New York Times, 12-20-64

PART THREE : Lumumba's objectives and the objectives of the UN in Congo(L) conflict: the seeds of the Congo disaster are sown.

7. Nkrumah, Kwame. "Address to the United Nations" Freedomways, Spring, 1961, page 51.
8. See the New York Times, 7-31-60
- 9&10. Hoffman, Stanley, "Congo Labyrinth" International Organization, (Spring, 1962) pp. 334 & 335; Oithata, Kgang, "The Congo: The Legal Aspect," African Communist, p. 63.
11. Patrice Lumumba, Fighter For Africa's Freedom, Moscow: translated from the French by the Publishers, page 41
12. Bustin, Edouard. "The Congo" ; Five African States, page 118; (New York, 1963).
13. Resolution adopted by the Security Council on July 14, 1960, S/4387.
14. Hoffman, page 336, from UN Document S/4417 (emphasis was added by the author(K.M. Freeman)
15. & 16. This put them in gross opposition to the Congolese Prime Minister, and thus guaranteed friction with the only entity which gave legality to the UN presence in Congo(L). In fact Hoffman says that it is doubtful if there was any legal basis for the UN operation; he at least is sure that the legal basis was not made clear. (Hoffman, page 333) But he asks the most revealing question when he says: "If the restoration of law and order required a smaller degree of UN dependence on the consent of the host state (once consent to the

creation of the force had been received), would it not require a revision of other principles as well-- such as the defensive nature of the operation and its commitment to nonintervention? page 334.

Dithata in his article in African Communist deals with the same questions with more confinement to the legal aspect and more follow through in order to obtain answers, and he does come with the most complete answer: that Lumumba's government's invitation to the UN to enter the Congo was the only legal basis for UN presence in Congo(L), and that it had no authority to do anything in the Congo without Lumumba's Government's consent--that is according to contemporary international law. Dithata, Kgang, "Congo: The Legal Aspect" African Communist, (July, Sept. 1964)pp. 60-70.

PART FOUR: U.S. control of the Congo Mission: How it was done

17. Lagos Study Circle, "What is Happening in the Congo", Part 1 Reprinted in the Spark, (Accra, Ghana 1964), page 7.
18. Ibid., page 6.
19. O'Brien, Conor Cruise. To Katanga and Back, (New York, 1962) page 56. (all quotations from this book were given permission to publish in SOULBOOK 2 by the publisher of O'Brien's book, Simon and Schuster.
20. Bustin, page 105.
21. O'Brien, Conor, To Katanga and Back, page 93.
22. Ibid., page 96
23. Harpers, 11/60
24. Goshal, Kumar. "Ishombe Losing Fight for A Separate Katanga," National Guardian, 1/17/63, page 2.
25. Ibid.,
26. O'Brien, page 57
27. Ibid., page 56

PART FOUR: Summary of points so far

* All quotes taken from this article were granted permission to reprint in SOULBOOK 2 by Cameron Duodoo, the Editor of Drum (Ghana Edition)

PART FIVE: U. N. Support of Congolese Traitors

28. Tully, Andrew. CIA, The Inside Story, (New York, 1962), page 180.
29. Wolfe, Alvin. W., "The Economics of the Jungle", Liberation, (January, 1962), page 10.
30. Nkrumah, page 53.
31. London Times, February 25, 1961
32. Patrice Lumumba: Fighter for Africa's Freedom, page 61
33. Nkrumah, page 46
34. "Torture of Lumumba Brings Bitter Protest," The Militant, (an unsigned news article) page 1 12/12/60
35. O'Brien, page 56.
36. "Can the Congo Go It Alone?" The Reporter by Claire Sterling, 6/18/64, pp. 28&30
37. Apparently Ishombe feels that because the white racists are motivated to kill all Blacks

that struggle for freedom they could have more success fighting for an anti-popular struggle in the Congo; at any rate he can be sure that they have something to fight for, kill all Blacks who could possibly be sympathetic to the Congolese liberation struggle -- including little babies -- and that they will not defect to the Congolese Freedom Fighters like so many of Tshombe's best troops have done.

* page 98; The charges of aggression.

38. Most western scholars have attempted to say that tribalism is the root cause of the chaos in Congo(L). However it should be recognized that no one has ever bothered to define tribalism; and there is no valid study of the social and political significance of 'tribal' divisions.

In the case of Congo(L), ethnic divisions are certainly tempered by the facts that there are 3 lingua francas in the country (Kiswahili, Lingala, and Kikongo), and every Congolese can at least understand one of them.

Also one of the more objective Africanists on the western scene states another relevant point about Congolese 'tribalism': "It is worth remembering, however, that many of the present tensions have more recent causes...The belief that too many of the well paid jobs offered by the Union Miniere and other Companies operating in Katanga somehow seemed to be occupied by immigrants from Kasai (most of them Baluba) has been partly responsible for the xenophobic ring in 1959 Conakat...platform a fact which led in turn to the momentous rapprochement between one of the Katangese Baluba and those who had migrated from Kasai." page 18.

So we see that often when there is inter (or intra)- 'tribal' friction in Congo(L) western European influence (and interference) is at the root of the trouble. (the chaos)

39. "Nkrumah Rips UN U Thant Side Steps" Muhammad Speaks, 2/4/63, page 10

40. This was Lumumba's appropriate nickname of this freakish "house-nigger."

41. Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 12, 1963

* Page 96; Onusian is the English derivative of the French noun 'Onusien'. Both words have become part of the common vocabulary of U. N. people.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For an excellent bibliography on Congo(L) check out the Bibliography to Bustin's article: "The Congo," which is found in Five African States : Responses to Diversity, Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1963

Another excellent bibliography on Congo(L) is: Catherin Hoskyns, "Sources for a Study of the Congo Since Independence," p. 373, The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Sept, 1963).

In the back of O'Brien's To Katanga and Back, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962) there are all the UN resolutions on the Congo up to and including the resolution passed by the Security Council on November 24, 1961. There are also some other useful UN Documents in his appendix. For more thorough study of the UN involvement in the Congo it is best to use: Hovet, Chamberlin, Wall and Brimmer. A Guide to the Use of United Nations Documents, (Including Reference to the Specialized Agencies and Special U.N. Bodies) New York: Oceana Publications, 1962. Also the book published by Progress Publishers in Moscow on Lumumba is an excellent source of Lumumba's attitude towards the UN and the UN's relations with Lumumba. See footnote number 11 for complete title of this book.

AMERICAN SAVAGERY AND THE FUTURE

After I'd finished reading the editorial entitled, "Congo Savagery and the Future," in the Los Angeles Times on Wednesday Nov. 25, 1964, I realized if I ever was to experience peace of mind again, I would have to answer in rebuttal, so completely did the article raise my ire. Although what I have to say will never be published in the L. A. Times, it will afford me the gratification of knowing some of your staff will read it, and you will know that Afro-Americans also THINK!

Pillaging, murder, rape, theft, etc. are all crimes abhorred by society, and the guilty of such should be apprehended and brought to justice as quickly as possible. It's always regrettable when innocent people are victimized, regardless of race, creed or color. Whether the people who are killed recently in the Congo were guilty or innocent is something that no one here can affirm or deny. However, if they were there in the best interest of the Congolese people, then their fate is sad one indeed. And I, for one, am certainly not devoid of compassion for those who have lost their lives when fighting for a cause.

But there is another side to this story that will be revealed only by a non-white. For hundreds of years the white man has infiltrated the African Continent for the sole purpose of exploitation. In one hand he carried a pick, shovel, and lynching rope -- in the other a bible. The latter was under the guise of missionary, teacher, and general do-gooder. This was to divert the African while he was robbed, cheated, enslaved, and his birth right stolen from under his very nose in his own country. During the process he was supposed to concentrate on how to save his immortal soul and go to heaven, but how in the hell was he expected to exist on earth when he was being exploited out of his very eyeballs?

The African has awakened! The Congolese made it plain several years ago that whites were no longer welcome in their country. Like all dark races the world over, They'd had it! Yet, the whites ignored the warning to stay out! Spurred on by their fierce greed for the vast wealth in the Congo, their omnivorous egos, and the myth of white supremacy, they just knew nothing could happen to them!



In your editorial you speak of what the West considers civilized attitudes and behaviors. It would be interesting to know just what is meant by such a statement, as well as: Quote -- "The day still seems far off when humanitarianism will be valued in the Congo as it is in the civilized world." End of quote. What civilized world? Where is this civilized world of which you speak? You couldn't possibly mean North America! But if you do -- here's news for you!

To begin with, ALL persons on this continent are aliens, in effect, except the Indian. Or didn't you know? According to YOUR history books, the European, or Pilgrim landed here in search of freedom of worship and a new way of

life. But not so with the African; these people were captured, imported from the Motherland, brought in and sold at public auctions in the slave market like so much cattle. Only savages could have performed such inhuman acts upon other human beings, and savages they were! -- White Ones!

You say the African "savage" comes from the bush country. Well, I'll tell you where he comes from in this country!! : from the southern backwoods and hills, the small towns and cities, and from every conceivable place in the confines of your land of the free and home of the Brave! Mississippi is the American Congo in reverse. She has to her credit more lynchings, burnings, and atrocities in general heaped upon the heads of defenseless Afro-Americans than any other known place, even though every state in the Union does its share of dirt to black folk either openly or discreetly.

The brutal, bestial slaying of little Emmett Till, a minor, during the mid-fifties in the state of Mississippi, shocked and enraged the vast Black world. The dark American witnessed the same grief-stricken pangs as a similar fate befell Mack Parker, Medgar Evers, and an American educator who when enroute to his home, was brutally murdered for no other reason than the Black color of his skin. The wounds were no less grievous back in '63 when four little girls were slaughtered in Alabama on a Sunday A.M. in a church -- of all places -- trying to worship God. Then again, the hearts of black folk dripped blood this past summer when a black youth was felled by a bullet from the gun of a race-hating policeman.

Time and space could never permit anyone to tell of the innumerable

and unaccounted-for murders and atrocities that have been inflicted upon black folk the world over for hundreds of years by heathen whites. And what has your white law ever done about any of these crimes? ----- Exactly nothing! Would you mind telling me if this is the 'civilized' world of which you speak? If so, the entire universe is in one sorry mess! And you call this humanitarianism? Just how ridiculous can you get?

In your feeling of self-righteous indignation for the Congo massacre, the statement has been publicized that "the rebels will be tracked down very quickly and brought to justice." My! -- oh my! How can all of this be done so quickly in a foreign country, and the law hasn't been able to bring to justice the killers of three civil rights workers that took place back in June, 1964 in Philadelphia, Mississippi? Medgar Evers was murdered almost two years ago, and his killing has yet to be vindicated. But of course it would be sheer nonsense to expect any consideration to be shown to your so-called pressure groups (Whatever that means, and whoever they are). It would be enlightening, though, to know exactly how such pressure will be brought to bear in the Congo; will blood hounds be flown from old Miss, or will Uncle Tom Tshombe supply them? It will be bloodhounds I'm sure, since they seem to have the keenest scent for black folk. But don't you think it would be advisable to clean up your own dirty linen here at home first before trotting off to track down freedom-loving people in their own country? For your fate could easily become the same as the people you are so determined to vindicate.

As for the Congolese who are reported to have been slain with the whites, in all probability they had been thoroughly brain-washed by the white oppressors, so their slayers felt they were traitors and the country would be better off without them. How you can be so up in arms about this incident and completely ignore what the Africans suffer at the hands of the white intruders is beyond all non-whites. Conditions in South Africa for the African are deplorable to say the least, and the Portuguese have massacred and held a reign of terror over the people of Angola for decades. By the way, what about all the Black Congolese that are being murdered by South African racists and Cuban traitors who both use American guns and American planes? But never a word about any of this appears in any white paper nor are these facts heard about on the radio or seen on the television; however the information does reach this country -- through the media of the Black press!

Don't you realize that because of this the whole non-white world is one seething, boiling volcano of hatred that can erupt at anytime? You are hated for your superficial air of superiority, arrogance, and of your condescension and all-around perfidy towards other human beings. You can murder, lie, steal, and commit every heinous crime under the white sun, and get away with it -- you think! Why bother to keep hiding behind the 'dirty' skirt of Communism? This excuse is so worn out it smells to high heaven -- and the stench is sickening! The instant anybody (cont.)

108 rhodes
 attempts to de-
 fend himself a-
 gainst your in-
 justices you
 scream COMMUNIST!
 We Afro-Americans
 are still wroth
 over the slave
 issue. Were the
 Communists re-
 sponsible for
 that? Indeed not!
 Your ancestors
 were! The echo of
 log chains about
 the wrists and
 ankles of our
 forefathers rank-
 les in our ears
 even today, along
 with the moans of
 innocent black
 males whose roped
 necks hung sus-
 pended in midair
 from the tops of
 southern trees be-
 cause some lying
 white woman who
 desired him ---
 and was rebuffed--
 hollered RAPE!

But by the same
 token it's quite
 alright for those
 filthy white swine
 to rape helpless
Black women! Can
 you deny this af-
 ter one of your
 very own, John
 Howard Griffin,
 has made the



exposed in his novel, Black Like Me? In the dwarfed minds of those who commit these filthy acts such must never be thought of or referred to again -- once its over. For in their miniature world, white is right!; black step back! But it isn't that way at all. There comes a time of reaping for all wrong doers, and the white man isn't going to get away unscathed.

In view of all this it would be advisable if you people would awaken from your Rip Van Winkle sleep and decipher the handwriting on the wall. You have lived luxuriously for more than two thousand years from the labors and fat of other people's lands, but your fiesta is rapidly coming to a close. You will scoff at this because you cannot conceive of it happening to you -- neither could the Romans, or the people of Pompeii, or of ancient Carthage and Babylon. But it happened to all of these people; every one of their civilizations fell in due time. The white world today is a modern Babylon, so for you especially now there should be a time of atonement and restitution instead of your continued bitter hatred and determination to dominate the darker races. Reprisals are the order of the day. Therefore, you had better prepare to face more and more of them.... A hint to the wise should be sufficient.

Mrs. Rhodes is a member of the Writer's Workshop of the Afro-American Cultural Association, Los Angeles, Calif.

Reality makes my heart
almost stop.
But life makes it beat.

w bast

'THE GREAT SOCIETY'



THAT BOY LeROI

Seemingly it has become the lot of the versatile young actor, Al Freeman Jr., to bring to being in the theater the most obnoxious Negroes ever seen on stage or screen. Al Freeman is an excellent actor who has the ability to make his obnoxious characters even more obnoxious on stage than they are in the published texts. Mr. Freeman is perfection at snarling, sneering, cursing, sniveling, complaining, bullying and browbeating. Indeed Al Freeman is such a good actor in the roles in which he has lately been cast in "Blues for Mister Charlie" and "The Slave" that every time I see his name in print, I get slightly sick at the stomach.

It is the fashion for young authors of Negro plays nowadays to make their heroes all villains of the darkest hue, or crazy, living in crazy houses. The whites are for the most part villains or neurotics, too; so I gather that contemporary Negro playwrights do not like anybody any more -- neither their stage characters, their audiences, their mothers, nor themselves. For poetry in the theater, some of them substitute bad language, obscenities of the foulest sort, and basic filth which seemingly is intended to evoke the sickest of reactions in an audience.

Certainly, "times do change," as the saying goes. I remember a quarter of a century ago when a few scattered damns in the theater were considered most advanced. When the word God was coupled with damn in Broadway's "What Price Glory?" it caused consternation. But in this Year of our Lord, 1965, four-letter words are flung across the footlights with impunity. A few seasons ago, such words might have been taken as adding a bit of spice to the dramatic cake. Why Lenny Bruce should go to jail alone while playwrights and actors from Broadway to Off-Broadway are having a field day with graffiti, I do not know. Since many novelists and playwrights, white and negro, nowadays make no bones about printing the unprintable and speaking the unspeakable (in so far as good taste, decency and good manners go), why, in nightclubs, where the risqué has long been acceptable, should Lenny Bruce be shackled, muzzled and put behind bars? Did Mr. Bruce invent

112 hughes

some new bad words?

In a talk I made in Paris concerning American Negro poetry, I said that I am glad Negro poets are doing everything other American poets are doing, and that their styles range from Harlemlense to Villagesese, from the conventional to the beatnik, from Pulitzer Prize winning Gwendolyn Brooks to Obie Award Winner LeRoi Jones. Mr. Jones is currently the white-haired black boy of American poetry. Talented in other forms of writing as well, particularly theater, Mr. Jones might become America's new Eugene O'Neill -- provided he does not knock himself out with pure manure. His current offering, "The Toilet," a (sic) full of verbal excrement.

I remember that much vaunted realism of David Belasco in my youth. None of the Belasco productions I saw on Broadway can hold a candle to "The Toilet," scenic or acting-wise. The set for "The Toilet" consists largely of a series of urinals, and the first thing the first actor does when he comes onstage is to use one. All the facilities of a high school toilet are used by the other performers, too, at various times. The bold and brilliant bunch of young Negro actors look as if they all come directly from Shirley Clark's rough-neck film, "The Cool World," whose leading man now plays, as if to the manner born, the leading role in "The Toilet." So realistic is both acting and direction in this play that the leading white boy, beaten to his knees by a gang of Negroes, drools spittle upon the stage as he tries to rise. The triumphant black boys end up sticking the white student's head into a urinal. What all this does for race relations (as if it mattered at this late date) I do not know.

Both "The Toilet" and "The Slave" may be taken as serious exercises in masochism and sadism, fully of bloody kicks, and better than "The Brig" for thrills. Certainly the whites at the St. Marks Playhouse are well beaten up in both plays before the evening ends. In "The Slave" Al Freeman Jr., as a black nationalist violently opposed to white liberals, slaps, kicks, punches, shoots and physically does in all the whites on stage. At one point in the proceedings, he pointed his pistol dead at Nat Hentoff in the first row of the auditorium. Long ago, the bully boy of Southern folklore, Stackolee, used to boast, "I'm the baddest Negro God's got." But Stackolee grew up in the good old days before the era of James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones, so Stackolee never laid eyes on Al Freeman Jr. in a New York theater. I think that Stackolee, as a horrified, especially at the language used before ladies.

Therefore, for the sake of today's sensitive Negroes and battered white liberals, I would like to offer the producers at St. Mark's Playhouse a suggestion-double cast both plays, and alternate performances racially. Every other night let all the present Negro characters be played by white actors, and vice versa. Four times a week I would like

to see WHITE school boys in "The Toilet" beating up a COLORED boy and sticking his head into a urinal. In "The Slave" let a bullying man kick, curse, browbeat and shoot a nice liberal BLACK professor and his wife in their suburban living room.

To reverse the complexions on stage every other night by alternating casts would make for a very intriguing theatrical evening. Black would then be white -- and white, black -- which alternately would cancel out each other -- since some critics (like the able Michael Smith in The Village Voice) claim that LeRoi Jones may not really be writing about color at all, but instead is concerned with no group "smaller than mankind." God help us all! *

A REPLY

by
bobb hamilton

An open letter to the editors: New York Post re: Your "Boy" Langston Hughes

I've just read a "put down" in your liberal newspaper on LeRoi Jones by "Unca" Hughes -- as a black writer I was nauseated and disgusted! It has been rumored in reliable circles that whitey was searching for a black writer to nail LeRoi to the cross. Now I know who was doing the searching for a house boy; I also know that you wasted several weeks abroad when all you had to do was to look in YOUR "toilet". I also KNOW that Langston has chafed for over six years because of an unfavorable review that LeRoi wrote on a "booklet" by Hughes purportedly giving the low-down on jive talk and jazz. The review was accurately cutting and necessary. Well, Hughes finally "back-capped" -- be sure to give him his mess of pottage along with his payola! I HAVE SEEN ALL three of LeRoi's plays and I say that he is the only black playwright alive in this cesspool who is telling it like it is. You, Sirs, have a knack for pulling out your house niggers to condemn any black person who has the guts to stand up and shout the truth about America! At the United Nations you pulled out good old Ralph Bunche to condemn the riots. Last summer, old reliable ...

(cont. on next page)

114 hamilton

Roy Wilkins was given his script! And now you have "descended" to the arts. Jones has no need to be a black Eugene O'Neil. It would behoove Hughes, rather, to admonish his bosses to strive for the stature of John Brown in whatever their pursuits. If LeRoi spouts verbal excrement, consider the fact that this culture is mired in manure, and that the role of the artist is to hold up a lens so that his society might better see itself. If Langston wants to see a play that pleases his masters - - and I am sure he does, let him write one of his own. I am sure he'll make Broadway -- again -- and I am sure that he will console those white, and white-thinking sensibilities who find this crappy society too much for them to face up to honestly. Let Langston and his ilk keep silent in the face of real artists. Theatre 1965 is not for left-over Lazaruses from the so-called "Negro Renaissance," nor is it for prissy puritans. Jesse B. Simple should take his well-deserved place along side the Brontosaurus and the Dodo bird!!

"racistly" yours,

Bobb Hamilton: Co-Editor of
SOULBOOK

" 'Negro' or 'nigger', it is all the same. Homo Sapiens deformed by crossed sticks, corpulent greenbacks and the myth of white woman, meshes of my psyche boomerang with centuries of seaweed. Scars of oppression barbwire my people's personalities like sword slits in the profile. And I put it into poems...."
.....By Calvin Hernton, "The Umbra Poets," Mainstream, page 4, July, 1963.

AN APPEAL FOR

SISTER BETTY SHABAZZ

LET US NOT FORGET THE
NEEDS OF THE WIDOW AND
CHILDREN OF OUR MARTYRED
LEADER, EL HAJJI MALIK SHABAZZ,
(MALCOLM X.) MAKE ALL CON-
TRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO BETTY
SHABAZZ; SEND THEM TO:

BETTY SHABAZZ
MOSLEM MOSQUE INC.
2090 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

TO ALL THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD:

It is no coincidence that the large portion of white America is both affluent, misinformed; apathetic, decadent and racist. It is no coincidence that the youth of Black America are forsaking non-violence after a long history of injustice from White America. And although we meet opposition from older generations of Black America, we see no other solutions to our problems.

History has shown us that in four-hundred years that we will not liberate ourselves through peaceful means. If we were dealing with a peaceful people that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who believed in justice, that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who were intelligent enough to realize that history is on the side of those who fight for liberation and justice, that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who could realize that societies based on slavery, based on decadence, based on corruption, based on lynching, based on lying and mass murder -- if we were dealing with people who could realize that such a society is doomed to decay like foul meat -- then that might be possible. Then we could think in peaceful terms. But we are not dealing with such people. We are dealing with people who condone slavery, aggression and corruption; people who have been educated on Tarzan movies and comic books; people who regard pirates as heroes; people who condone lynching. We are dealing with a people who have a long history of piracy, witch hunting and burning people at stakes -- and of course the brutal oppression of Black America. So we are dealing with a people who think nothing of bombing a church or a hundred churches. Its only another loud noise and another building to them, and in spite of the most elaborate and expensive crime detection and secret service network in the world the white racist F. B. I. , can never find the criminal who killed a Negro or bombed a Negro church. Instead they supposedly spend their time considering the ' communist threat.' So it matters not to them (The F. B. I.) how many Blacks are killed, how many youthful(cont. next page)

black lives are destroyed. These are really the people with whom we must deal.

The world has known us as a patient people, they have seen us as a patient people, they have seen us on our knees in prayer for freedom, marching up and down in peaceful demonstrations, campaigning and petitioning for freedom, negotiating for liberation, or voting for one candidate or another or appealing for jobs, for higher wages, more security and less police brutality. Often they have seen us being bloodied by a policeman's club or bitten by a dog. They have seen us lynched by the KKK, and still fighting in the dirty wars of the US and hoping that the US would hand us our freedom when we returned home.

This year, however, there has been a qualitative change in the nature of the struggle of Black America. In nearly every city in the north and south, Black America took to the streets and fought the armed forces of the state. At the same time the US carried the dirty war of Vietnam from south to north, the white racist carried the war from Birmingham to Harlem. At the same time the mothers in the Congo were losing their homes to the bombs and napalm made in the US, Black American mothers in Mississippi were losing their homes to the bombs of the KKK.

For the same reason "Mr. Charlie"* murdered Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, he murdered Medgar Evers in Mississippi. Thus Liberation Movements know no geographical boundaries. They may occur in a rice paddy in Vietnam, or in the jungle streets of Harlem. They may occur in the Sierra Maestra as easily as in the South Side, Chicago. -- Brooklyn is no different than Johannesburg -- except distance. We feel that armed struggle is applicable in all cases. Why do we say this? Because some people argue that we should peacefully coexist with white America. We answer that as long as we live under oppression and imperialism, there can be no peace other than the peace which exists between slave and slave-master. We have had no peace in four hundred years, but we will obtain peace through organized self-defense. Some argue that we are racists. However these people fail to understand the difference between fighting for superiority and fighting for freedom and justice. And they fail to understand the principles of the Bandung (Afro-Asian) World.

We are Black revolutionary internationalists and we seek the support of all the justice and freedom loving peoples of the world. We speak from experience when we say that white America is apathetic, decadent and racist. This year, after the riots across the country, white Americans of both major political parties demanded that black rioters be punished as criminals, they have demanded more brutal (cont. on p. 119)

and savage policemen, more vicious dogs, and more informers, stooges and lap dogs painted black for the racist, low-down FBI. Yet, at the same time churches, homes and schools were being bombed by the hundreds in Mississippi, and not a word of significant protest was uttered by white America.

As Black youth fought police around the country, the Communist Party of the US, publicly endorsed Martin Luther King as saviour of the Negroes, and publicly denounced Robert F. Williams, the exiled

leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement. This came as no shock to us, as the CPUSA has a history of siding with the power structure on most issues involving Black America. Since the power structure had declared Robert F. Williams an outlaw the CPUSA followed suit. But when representative of the Soviet Union also denounced Robert F. Williams, we realized the true significance of their phrase, "Peaceful Coexistence." Since Martin Luther King is no more or less than a puppet for US imperialism, the citadel of World counter-revolution, he is protected by the CIA, receives millions of dollars yearly from White America and the Power Structure. Both the Soviet Union and the CPUSA have forsaken principle for unity, and have condescended to aluding King. Since when did leaders of liberation movements receive a Nobel Peace Prize, or support from the C.I.A? We think that because he received the Nobel Prize they also should pin a label on his nose marked "made in the USA"!.....So we must pose the question before the new leaders of the Soviet Union: What is your

(cont. on next
page)

intention, and where do you stand in regard to the Negroes' struggle for freedom and justice? Do you support our movement of organized self-defense, or do you support the C. I. A.? Do you want us to peacefully coexist with our oppressors, or will you support our movement publicly and denounce US racism? We are waiting to hear from you.

Be that as it may, we have already received the public support from the Peoples of Vietnam, the Peoples of Venezuela, the Peoples Republic of China, Indonesia, and the Peoples of Ghana. Hence we call on and welcome the public support of our cause by all peoples who believe in freedom and justice, and who desire to publicly denounce US racism and imperialism.

We realize that other peoples have supported our just cause, but due to the closed mass media of the racist USA, Black America is not informed by AP or UPI about our supporters. We also request financial support for our cause, which as it is developing, will increase and intensify the contradictions inherent in the heartland of racist US imperialism, -- a blow that it cannot take. We remind the Bandung brothers that accepting American Dollarism is accepting "blood" money; it is the same money spent for napalm in Vietnam and white mercenaries in the Congo. We join hands with the Bandung world and with all the freedom loving peoples of the world revolution to eliminate exploitation, injustice and misery; and then to build the world anew.

Editors' note: This work has appeared in the French Edition of Africa, Latin America, Asia, REVOLUTION. But this is the first time it has been published in the English language. Opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK.

Emphasis of the last paragraph was in the original.

- * "Mr. Charlie" is an Afroamerican term denoting American Whites -- particularly the American white ruling aristocracy.

REJECT NOTES

by
rolland snellings
carol freeman
t r horne
marvin e jackmon
bobb hamilton
ernie allen
ronald stone
wm patterson
w best
sherley a williams



i am a poet.
it is my fist you hear beating
against your ear.

.....from The Distant Drums
by Calvin Hernton

All My Yesterdays

The six o'clock bus is a jungle of faces
A tangle of women going home after cleaning
Other people's houses; tending other people's kids
While across town in the slums, in the quarters
Jimmy Lees and Annies run wild.
(And their yesterdays are all my own)

That bus is crowded with women
Whose faces are etched in the likeness
Of a long forgotten past
Women whose shoulders are bowed
With a well remembered now
And each face is my mother
Their bitter now is my own.

That woman sitting there, down the aisle
And next to the window, the one
With harsh lines running from mouth to nose,

I know her.
Hattie, Mary or Mae?
No matter. I know you
And all your yesterdays are my own

You got up one morning or turned over
In the night; perhaps waited in the cooling dusk
Of sunset and knew he wasn't coming back

Was it summer or winter
Green leaved spring
Or leafless fall?
No matter. I was there
And all your yesterdays are my own

You work in a white kitchen
And live in a black slum
You leave each morning
And return each night
To a boy wanting too hard to be a man
And a girl leaving childhood
Suddenly, too soon behind.
(And their yesterdays are also my own)

'Give us this day our daily bread,'
We prayed each morning
And mama went out each day to earn it.

I watched our Annie fall in love;
Heard her soft sighing words in the sweet night air.
I saw Annie come to love him;
Knew of their hot brusing kisses in the thick night air.

But Annie loved with a love that couldn't hold him
And I hear her pitiful whimpering in the cool night air.
Yes, I watched our Annie fall in love
And felt her pain when he left
And knew of her fear in the cold night air.
Joey was on the way; a Joey with no father
And a mother no more than a child
A Joey conceived in the darkness of the sweet night air.

And Jimmy Lee is my brother
Junior for a father we'd never known
A boy with a shy smile and voice
Cracking unexpectedly with the echoes
Of childhood, his body grown large
Mostly arms and legs, still awkward somehow
He was always in trouble and sometimes in jail
And mama loved him.
She worried over him
And prayed for him
And now Mamma's dead.
Good. For who could bear to tell her
That prayer, worry, even love weren't enough.
They shot my brother James as he left the store
He'd just held up.

The six o'clock bus is a jungle of faces
A sea of harsh memories
Each face is my mother
And every memory my own

The white kitchen employs you
But pride keeps you there
Pride and the knowledge that your children
Your beloved soon lost children
Must somehow exist
And because of ageless necessity, a necessary pride
Jimmy Lees and Annies run wild.

The woman up front rises
 And goes toward the rear door.
 I see her dark face in full now
 And I recognize a childhood friend
 Her brief, bitter smile as she goes out the door,
 Tells me that she knows what I'm thinking,
 Knows because it's happening to her.

Yes, she knows me.
 Knows that I am Annie
 And all her yesterdays are my own.

by sherley a williams

MALCOLM EXSICCATED

No sooner than I heard them holler out in Harlem,
 The well is dry, did I crave a drink from it...
 I remember I used to spurn it when it brimmed--
 pointing out how rife it was with impurities,
 choosing the well distilled--and dearer--libations.
 I waited for it to settle, which it seemed to be doing,
 gradually becoming much clearer and more enticing.
 Frankly, impressed that it refreshed so many others,
 I often approached a pail that passed before me,
 poised a dipper to take a draught, then put it off..
 I hesitated too long: the source has died.
 Was it really the oasis they said it was?
 Though I thought not, now I will never know.
 Perhaps a mere sip might have been something to savor...
 Now, with fancied unquenchable thirst, afire with the regrets
 of an inferno-fated spectre, I creep to the wall of the well
 and peer into its pitch-black depth at a desert;
 sand stopples my throat, and froth unparts my lips.

by t r horne

I'm scared to open up a letter
Lord knows I got the blues

I'm scared to open up a letter
Lord knows I got the blues

Mr. Edison done told me, I better
Catch up on my monthly dues

2

He said if you don't send me some money
I'm go na put you in the dark.

He said if you don't send me some money
I'm gonna put you in the dark.

Steam runs a dynamo honey
But it takes gold to make 'em spark.

3

You been frying up lots of bacon
Boilin' greens and sassafras

You been frying up lots of bacon
Boilin' greens and sassafras

You gimme some money baby,
or else stop burning up my gas.

4

Now when the mail man came a knocking
I was lying on the floor

Now when the mail man came a knocking
I was lying on the floor

I was sleeping off my goodtimes
Couldn't make it to the door.

126 freeman

5

Now I'm not no lazy person
Work everyday from nine to five,

Now I'm not no lazy person
Work everyday from nine to five,

Seems like harder I try to make it,
Harder it gets to stay alive.

6

Nothin but trouble, trouble, trouble,
More trouble then I can use

Nothin but trouble, trouble, trouble,
more trouble than I can use

If you want to know my story
Consolidated Edison Blues.

by bobo hamilton

billowing swirling damplyfalling
confetti
drifting blacklywafersof
manna we
dumb like ox
on stand like
black mouths slaverling
red
ly
wait
recieving
bits of the host of
soggy girlbodies
hair teethtoe skin vein
vessel finger nail
falling
in the smoky rubble
of mammas
dreams

by carol freeman

Restitution

You there! Yes you, black one,
With your bent back and bowed head!
You look as if you could instruct the Greeks
On the true nature of tragedy.
So, this is the result of your not joining the black wolves
Condoned by the eagle to feed off the shadows
Of forgotten magnificence
And receive shiny things for voracious deeds done.
Hold back that tear, black one ! A million of such
Will not wash away this orgy of suppression
Transcending understanding.
Where is the pride of Leo?
The Sun does not take away what he has given his own.
Get up, black one!
Can not you hear the baying of the hounds
As they watch in fearful fascination,
The moon being pulled from the dark and mysterious heavens
By the estuary and inlets...
Look! Can not you see the river digesting the sea,
And Mars smiling, as his two silent sons, Aries and Scorpio,
Embrace after long separation,
Brothers once more!

SOUL IS

Malcolm X.

Coltrane blowing

"A Love Supreme."

Our fight for that

Long deferred dream.

Motherfucker.

The essence of

My being--my blackness.

Bloods shooting crap in

The alley darkness.

Fillmore.

Laughing instead

Of crying.

Living bold, not

Thinking of dying.

Fuck you.

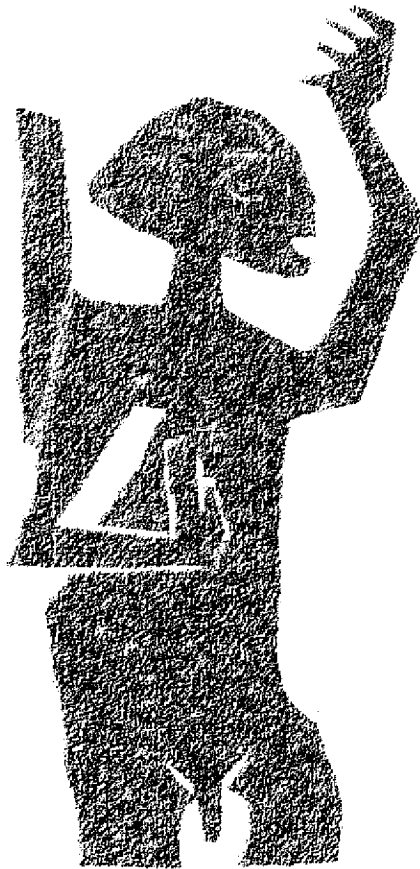
Ray Charles singing

"Georgia On My Mind."

Paul Robeson's Othello,

Soul sublime.

Kiss my ass.



TRANETRACKS (dedicated to Dolphy)

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, he did (thank you, J.)
 With a vibrant reed superimposed upon 3 oz.
 Of corrugated black vinyl
 Black and furrowed like me

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, He did (thank you, J.)
 With a black lyricism punctuating the cill morning air
 My soul pulsed righteously in syncopation
 To His every statement

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, He did (thank you, J.)
 With a Message of Truth to Brothers and Sisters
 To bring forth with expedience
 The New Age (thank you, J.).

by ernie allen

Uncle Sammy call me full of Lucifer--

I dont give a good Eagle-eye Mcfleagle triplewhammy damn
 for I, Fearless Fosdick, will not serve!
 I'll call you Lucifer for burning me.

Uncle Sammy dont shuck & jive me--

I'm hep to popcorn jazz changes you blow
 You know damn well what I mean!
 You schooled my naive heart to sing
 redwhite&blue stars&stripes songs

130 stone

and to pledge eternal allegiance

to all things blue-true blue-eyed

blondblond haired

whitechalk-white skinned

with USA tatooed all over.

When my soul trusted Uncle Sammy

& loved Uncle Sammy

& grew up for Uncle Sammy

& died in dreams for Uncle Sammy

you jammed your emasculated manhood symbol

puffed with gonorrhea of corrupt unreality myths

into ungreased niggerghetto-black ass

of my JewishCatholicHinduIslamic

let's-all-get-together

so-I-must-be-a-Communist beatnik nigger soul.

Sure free public health clinic penicillin cured me

But Uncle Sammy

if you want to stay a pervert freakshow strongman god....

fuck your motherfucking self I will not serve.

by ronald stone

EARTH
(for Mrs. Mary Bethune and the
African and Afro-American woman)

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters - the burnt-haired
women's quarters -

and hears their broken sobbing in the night?

To endure. To remain, like the red earth, strong and fecundant.
Your coppery, chocolate, ebony warm-skin scoured...and toughened
by the arid wind.

The wrinkles in your eyes, your smile, your frowning foreheads
are the Stars within your Crown, my women.

Cares come and go; dreams fade away; sons are lost
on lonely battlefields...severed by the Nordic Meataxe.
Men are broken...babble...lift their bloody genitals
upon the tainted altar of the Snow Queen.

Her frigid, sterile smile is a tribute to the vengeance of her
Caesars.

Where, then, is Spartacus, is Attila, is Hannibal?

Who thunders, now, upon those Seven Hills?

They are gone...and...only you remain!

You whose Womb has warmed the European hills and made
the Pale Snows tawny.

132 snellings

Pagan Spain, sunny France, Italy and the faoled Grecian Isles
are drenched by the Sunlight of your smile:

Mother of the World! :

Fecundant, Beating Heart! :

Enduring Earth! :

Only you remain!

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters?



by rolf and snellings

LETTER TO DRAFT BOARD 100 WAYNE COUNTY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Gentlemen:

This letter is in regards to a notice sent to me, General Gordon Baker, Jr., requesting my appearance before an examining station to determine my fitness for military service.

How could you have the NERVE knowing that I am a black man living under the scope and influence of America's racist, decadent society??? You did not ask me if I had any morals, principles, or basic human values by which to live. Yet, you ask if I am qualified. QUALIFIED FOR WHAT might I ask? What does being "Qualified" mean: qualified to serve in the U.S. Army?.... To be further brainwashed into the insidious notion of "defending freedom"?

You stand before me with the dried blood of Patrice Lumumba on your hands, the blood of defenseless Panamanian students, shot down by U.S. marines; the blood of my black brothers in Angola and South Africa who are being tortured by the Portuguese and South African whites (whom you resolutely support) respectively; the dead people of Japan, Korea, and now Vietnam, in Asia; the blood of Medgar Evers, six Birmingham babies, the blood of one million Algerians slaughtered by the French (whom you supported); the fresh blood of ten thousand Congolese patriots dead from your ruthless rape and plunder of the Congo--the blood of defenseless women and children burned in villages from Napalm jelly bombs..... With all of this blood of my non-white brothers dripping from your fangs, you have the damned AUDACITY to ask me I am "qualified". White man; listen to me for I am talking to you!

I AM A MAN OF PRINCIPLES AND VALUES : principles of justice and national liberation, self-determination, and respect for national sovereignty. Yet, you ask if I am "physically fit" to go to Asia, Africa, and Latin America to fight my oppressed brothers (who are completely and resolutely within their just rights to free their fatherland from foreign domination). You ask me if I am qualified to join an army of FOOLS, ASSASINS and MORAL DELINQUENTS who are not worthy of being called men! You want me to defend the riches reaped from the super-exploitation of the darker races of mankind by a few white, rich, super-monopolists who(continued on next page)

control the most vast empire that has ever existed in man's one million years of History--all in the name of "Freedom"!

Why, here in the heart of America, 22 million black people are suffering unsurmounted toil: exploited economically by every form of business--from monopolists to petty hustlers; completely suppressed politically; deprived of their social and cultural heritage.

But, all men of principle are fighting-men! My fight is for Freedom: UHURU, LIBERTAD, HALAUGA, and HARAMBEE! Therefore, when the call is made to free South Africa; when the call is made to liberate Latin America from the United Fruit Co., Kaiser and Alcoa Aluminum Co., and from Standard Oil; when the call is made to jail the exploiting Brahmins in India in order to destroy the Caste System; when the call is made to free the black delta areas of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina; when the call is made to FREE 12TH STREET HERE IN DETROIT! : when these calls are made, send for me, for these shall be Historical Struggles in which it shall be an honor to serve!

Venceremos!

General G. Baker Jr.

THE AQUARIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER

BOOKS ABOUT AFRICANS AND AFRO-AMERICANS

1302 West Santa Barbara Ave.

Los Angeles 37, California

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W.E.B. DU BOIS; BLACK MILITANT OR NEGRO LEADER?

by
ted
vincent

Editorial Comment: We present the following paper in order to perhaps clarify the many facets in the productive life of W. E. B. DuBois. In this paper are discussed many of the highlights of Dr. DuBois' writings, literary works which extend in time from the period immediately following his departure from college until his death in August, 1963; though we, the editors, question the author's conclusions concerning the possibility of alignment between militant Blacks & Whites in the struggle, we offer this paper as worthy of discussion in Afroamerica.

Nationalism or Socialism? Militancy or liberal integration? Assimilation or emigration? The Afro-American freedom struggle is becoming ever more bogged down in categorizing, pigeon-holing and indiscriminate labeling. Generally the infighting centers around Black Nationalism (whatever that means) vs. Integration (whatever that means). Also, there is plenty of petty bickering between Socialists and Nationalists. Meanwhile, back in the ghetto: cops continue to split heads. Black men continue to seek non-existent jobs; and Black women continue to be reduced to salable commodities for the lust of the descendants of the slavemasters.

A mandate exists for a united front of conscientious freedom fighters. Can it be done? The nit-pickers and the doctrinaires say no.

For the purposes of refuting those cynics, let the record of W. E. Burghardt DuBois be entered as conclusive testimony to the fact that a dynamic mixture of goals, programs and ends is possible. Himself one of the most 'labeled' and misunderstood, DuBois had at one time or another in his long life championed causes that were indicative of Integration, Nationalism, and Socialism.

First of all DuBois was a defender of his race. As a 25 year old graduate student he wrote for his private diary that he would soon move out into the world at large "and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world."¹ He was fresh out of college when he formulated his thesis that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of

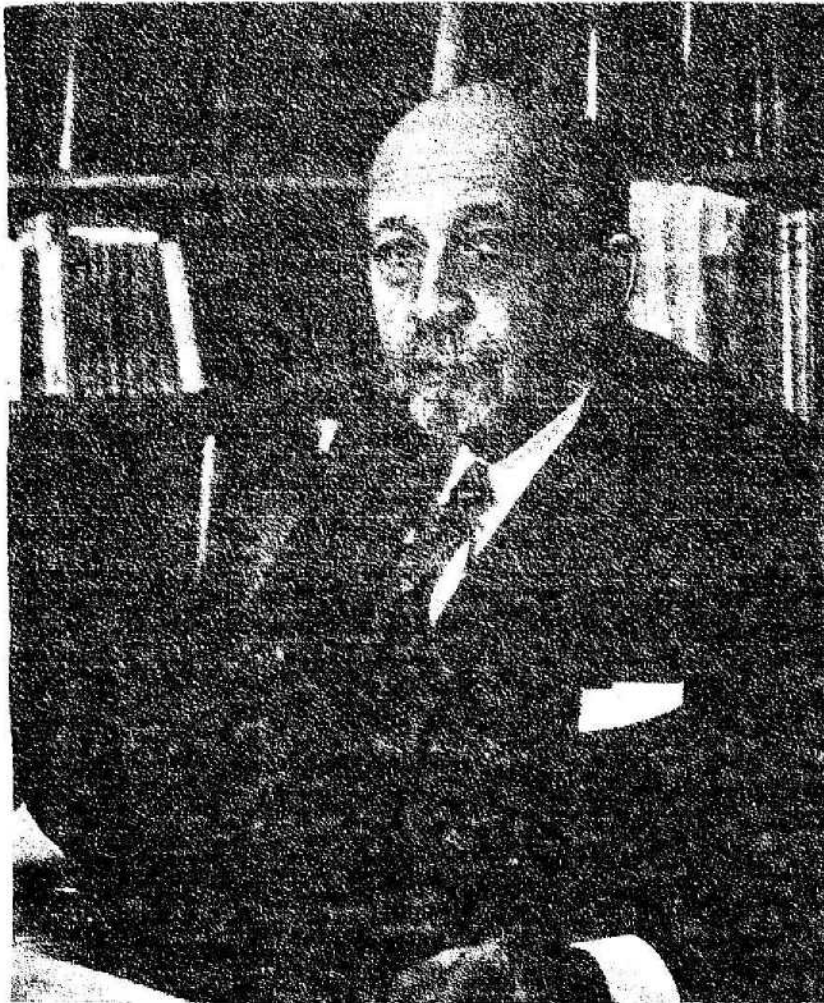
* That is, white workers

man in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."².

Color is seen as primary in questions of justice. Within the social and economic world it was Capitalism which fed the racists. And capitalism maintained its advantage over millions, black and white, through rewards of racism, plunder and exploitation of the colored peoples of the world. Therefore DuBois the Marxist is memorialized in the "DuBois Clubs of America," whose skills in fomenting mass action are contrasted with a serious intellectual error. The "DuBois Clubs" simply categorize their

name-sake as just another Marxist.

The drama of DuBois final years, it should be noted, included his taking of Ghanaian citizenship, as well as membership in the American Communist Party. His final days were spent in Ghana, editing the Encyclopedia Africana, for which he hoped to get eventually an all-African staff. In his off time he wrote poems to the honor of President Kwame Nkrumah.³ A burial spot was chosen overlooking the ocean, and DuBois felt it a fitting final touch that when his long life ended, he would be laid to rest not in the



W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

land of slavemongers and racists, but in the land of his forefathers.

How did DuBois arrive at a perspective that would encompass socialism, nationalism, and dedication to the traditional liberal American civil-rights struggle?

Important in his philosophy was his belief in the darker-skinned peoples of the world as a democratic majority. There is a section in Souls of Black Folk in which DuBois tells of the impact on his life made by his experience with rural Black farmers of Tennessee. He was then a student at Fisk who had gone out to teach during the summer months. It was his first experience with his own people. He found "soul". Through the years, reflecting on what he learned in rural Tennessee, he came to view his people as those who knew the true meaning of democracy.

Sometimes DuBois explained his faith in his people as relating to presence of "justice" which "lies with the lowest, the plight of the lowest man,--the plight of the Black man."⁴ On other occasions he tied all colored peoples as a group and concluded that "belief in humanity is a belief in colored men," the vast majority of mankind.⁵

His confidence in the just and non-exploitative character of colored peoples is seen in the expectations DuBois held for the future. From his early years he envisioned a cooperative society for Black Folk. In his program for the Niagara movement he urged "cooperation in business."⁶ For the newly-arrived Negroes of the northern ghettos of the 1920's he urged the formation of "consumer-producer cooperatives" as fitting forms of society and business.⁷ Again during the depression he gave wide publicity to cooperative ventures of Afro-Americans and commented favorably on that school of Africanists, led by George Padmore, which was then exploring the roots and potential of "african socialism."⁸ In his autobiography Dusk of Dawn, DuBois announced a "thesis for Negro Socialism." He noted that in the African communal group, "ties of family and blood, of mother and child, of group relationship made the group leadership strong." In the case of Afro-Americans "there are sources of strength in common memories-horrors," and experiences. "Here in subtle but real ways the communalism of the African clan can be transferred to the Negro American group."⁹

Of course his confidence in Black folk spilled over to all who suffered injustices, and his writings are a three-quarter century commentary on the right of all men to rewarding life. Typical of his unqualified interpretation of a just society is his concept of what each generation owes to its children. Back in 1919, when most Americans were fortunate if they had finished grade-school, DuBois was calling for "college training...for every American child." And as for subjects like Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, "if they are worth teaching to anybody, the masses need them most."¹⁰

Although DuBois felt for the oppressed of all races, he had no illusions concerning the true vanguard for the future. In 1946 he told an assembly of South Carolina Negro youth that in the years ahead there was coming to dixie a chance for young people to "lift again the banner of humanity...and build in the world a culture led by black folk and joined by peoples of all colors and all races." The South, is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American negro but for the emancipation of the colored races, and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalist monopoly." (italics are the author's)11.

What is there specifically, in the DuBois philosophy which suggests Nationalism? On a superficial level, there are his chopping ironies on "white" civilization. Said DuBois of his ancestry, he "had gotten himself born with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, and thank God! no 'Anglo-Saxon.'"12. In Black Reconstruction he comments on the question, why didn't the slaves rise up and slaughter and rape the defenseless white women when the white men were off fighting the Civil War? DuBois answers, human nature."13. In a similar vein, is the scene in his novel Dark Princess, written in 1925, where the "civilized" leaders of the Afro-Asian world have met to discuss the fate of the decadent Western World which is depicted as collapsing in an orgy of materialistic debauchery. The Afro-Asian leaders of the day, Asian aristocrats, Arab sultans, and traditional African chieftains discuss at length the days ahead when they will bring to the world culture, grace, sensuality, respect for elders, and true civilization."14.

Deeper in his philosophy is an analysis of the causes of 20th century oppression, and analysis which strips away the self-defences of white-minded Marxists and liberals, an analysis which calls a spade a spade, and shows the white-man in general to be caught up in the perpetration of injustice. Whites of all socio-economic classes partake of rewards of racist imperialism. And DuBois does not deny that the caucasian is cannibalistic in that the rich white devours the poor. But through racism, all Western culture is drugged into impotence, when it concerns freedom for colored peoples. Then again, a good antidote for the white is Marxism; ergo DuBois the Communist. But he is a particular kind of Communist, as can be judged from his interpretation of cause & color-caste.

The author's preface to the 1953 edition of Souls of Black Folk offers an explanation of racism as an excuse, as a rationalization for exploitation. "The findings of Freud and his co-workers" testify to the ample role of "unconscious thought and the cake of Custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice." The rationalizations of the mind mix with the realities of the economic world to create a situation where "so

many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort" at the expense of the "majority of their fellowmen," and to maintain this privilege, "men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race."¹⁵.

But not only is color-caste a pretext, it is an essential mode of life through which Western Civilization has produced for itself wealth and leisure. In this mode of production, the white worker, compared with the extravagant luxury of the rich, may be poor indeed, but the degraded white is a virtual aristocrat when compared with the starvation and misery of the average citizen of colonial, or neo-colonial nations.¹⁶.

The position of the West is hopelessly ambiguous. It even botches the job when attempting constructive action. The planned charter for the United Nations so perturbed DuBois he wrote a book about it, Color And Democracy. The charter allowed the Europeans to keep their colonies and offered no viable plan for independence. Warning was given, by DuBois, that to form a world deliberative body without facing up to colonialism was to invite disaster and the recurrence of fascism and a Hitler. So today, fortunately, Afro-Asians tackle colonialism themselves.

DuBois was quite fond of his early notion that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line." In an essay for Alain Locke's New Negro DuBois summarized the statement to be as valid then, in 1925, as it had been a quarter century earlier. He gives some examples. One involves labor strikes then occurring in South Africa. The white workers were engaged in bitter class-struggle with the nasty capitalist exploiter. For what end? For the right to exclude native South Africans from all skilled jobs in the mine industry of that country. The Bantu were forced to appeal to the Imperial English government for assistance from the oppressor, the white laborer. Another example concerns the Congo, and the "Socialist" Foreign Minister of Belgium, who was well intentioned toward the Congolese, but inept at doing anything about his country's imperialism.¹⁷.

DuBois was always proud of his loyalty to the American labor movement. However, in a Crisis article of 1926 he lamented that it was unrequited love, and cited the vicious exclusionist policies of AFL trade unions. For 24 years DuBois edited the Crisis magazine, and commentaries on the exploitative nature of white laborers were numerous. These critiques were most always accompanied with an admonition to white

labor to come to grips with racism and see it as destructive to all who suffered from capitalism.¹⁸.

Darkwater, a DuBois anthology compiled in 1919 is informative on this point. The articles in this book provide a good source for viewing his technique of combining color analysis, race pride, and the humanist attitude of international socialism. Particularly cogent for the analysis

of color is the article on the horrible East St. Louis race riot. The white worker, on the eve of the riot, is described as an insecure job holder, threatened by a recent influx of Black men from the South. The whites were recent immigrants themselves and had just won a battle with business for decent wages, and, also, had won a small measure of social prestige for their group. Here enter the Black men, like workers from a colonial country, they would work for lower wages. The Negroes "had no wish to make their fellow's wage envelopes smaller, but they were determined to make their own larger." White labor refused to allow the Black brethren into their trade unions and the resulting clash of interests, stimulated by a racist press of the bosses, led to a blood bath.¹⁹ Or as DuBois explains in a 1933 Crisis article entitled "Marxism and the Negro Problem," exploitation of the Afro-American came "from the white capitalist and equally from the white proletariat."²⁰

Why does white labor act this way? The 'liberal' and 'left' answer that it is because of "misunderstanding" or "ignorance." DuBois believed this argument was plain nonsense. "The American white laborers are not fools." They had a choice. The white worker could choose between immediate gains, limited ones easily achieved, or a long struggle for real liberation obtained through Black and White unity.²¹ The theme of the ambiguous white worker is present in much of DuBois' historical writing. For his recent works, informative is the description of the failure of Reconstruction in Ordeal of Mansart. The white southern laborer is overwhelmed by the tensions and pressures of KKK terror and Northern indifference to the problems of the South. The Negro ally is sacrificed, with due apology from the white, who joins the Bourbons in expectations of a privileged position for himself in the promised "new south" of industry.²²

To add the facets of DuBois philosophy together; the cause of color oppression rests largely with White society, and those who will lead the way ahead will be peoples of Africa, Asia, or Afro-Asian descent. However, indiscriminate categorizing and labeling must cease. The issue must not be considered merely Black and White. Serious problems exist within the white world, problems of rich vs. poor. The Socialist camp, with DuBois as a card carrying member, believes these problems will increase. To the degree that Afro-Asian peoples gain their freedom the profits for the imperialists will dwindle and the Rockefellers and Goldwaters will have less loot with which to bribe their white labor hirelings.

As this happens the Black man, strengthened by unity of his Black Nationalism, will possibly have an irresistible bargaining power to win the laboring white as an ally. Hopefully, the white will seize the opportunity.

A word on how to view the so-called DuBois inconsistencies:

He enjoyed playing the protagonist, looking to widen peoples' perspective. At the turn of the century, when Booker T. Washington was relegating Afro education to the shop-class, DuBois demanded the cultivation of a talented-tenth. During the depression decade, DuBois the Nationalist denounced the left, and particularly the class-struggle dogmatists of the Communist Party, men of "pitiable mental equipment" who "give no thought" to the "intricacies" of color.²³ During the McCarthyite terror of the 1950s he moved openly into the socialist camp. And in the 1960s, when Afro-Americans are moving toward 'integration' in America, DuBois becomes a Ghanaian citizen and Communist to dramatize the need for world scope.

FOOTNOTES

1. In Herbert Aptheker's Documentary History of the Negro People, (1951), vol. II, p. 753
2. Souls of Black Folk, (Crest Edition), p. 23, Fawcett Publications, NY
3. Freedomways, Winter, 1962, page 71 & Winter, 1963, page 23
4. Darkwater, (1919), article: "Of Work and Wealth", page 91
5. Ibid., article: "The Souls of White Folk", p. 49
6. Aptheker, page 906
7. Darkwater, page 159, In his autobiography Dusk of Dawn, (1940) DuBois describes his attempt in 1918 to form a "Negro Cooperative Guild." pp. 280-81 (Harcourt, Brace & Howe)
8. See commentaries on "Liberia" in 1932-33 issues of the Crisis. Harry Haywood, The Road to Negro Liberation, (1934) contains a critical appraisal of the DuBois role in what Haywood calls "the growth of petty-bourgeois nationalism."
9. Dusk of Dawn, pp. 209 -18; see Crisis April, 1933, pp. 93-94 on Co-ops during depression
10. Darkwater, p. 215
11. Freedomways, Winter, 1964, pp. 8-15
12. Crisis, February, 1918, p. 168, in autobiographical sketch "The Shadow of Years"
13. Black Reconstruction, (Meridian edition), p. 66, World Publishing Co.
14. Dark Princess-- chapter mentioned is found in V. F. Calverton's Anthology of American Negro Literature, (1929), pp. 80-91; Modern Library inc. N.Y.
15. Souls of Black Folk, pp. XIII-XIV
16. For relative position of classes and color see Darkwater "Of Work and Wealth" p. 98.
17. Alain Locke, editor of: The New Negro, (1925), pp. 385-414 ; Boni Publishers: N.Y.
18. Crisis, articles of note in Nov. 1925, p. 60; Jan. 1926, p. 113; April, 1926, p. 271; Dec. 1926, p. 65; Nov. 1931, p. 393; July, 1932, p. 234; April, 1933, p. 93.
19. Darkwater, "Of Work and Wealth," pp. 81-104.
20. Crisis, May, 1933, pp. 104 and 118
21. Crisis, July, 1932, p. 234; also May, 1933, p. 104 and 118; and Black Reconstruction, p.25.
22. Ordeal of Mansart, (1957), pp. 24-28, and a general theme of the book(Mainstream Co.: N.Y.)
23. Crisis, April, 1933, p. 93.

AN APPEAL FOR THE STATUE OF LIBERTY DEFENDENTS

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APARTHEID IS DOOMED!

Editorial Comment : In a recent issue of life magazine there appeared an article written by an American negro woman who went to East Africa; while there she purportedly was given important information on how our revolutionary Brothers of Zanzibar were going to help our Brothers in South Africa.

We are quite aware that the incidents related in this article must have happened--if they happened at all--virtually two years ago. For John Okello (the traitress' only confidant mentioned by name in the article) has not been on the Zanzibari political scene for almost a year and a half. So the question arises; why did life magazine, which specializes in current features, wait almost 2 years to publish an article in which they obviously consider of prime importance. We suggest this was an attempt by the sick U. S. ruling aristocracy to further execute their abortive attempt to demoralize revolutionary Afroamerica, and also counteract the late Brother Malcolm's obvious success in bringing Africa and Black America POLITICALLY closer together.

We, the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK, have a resolute answer for the stupid U. S. State Department, and that string of journalistic vice houses, Time, Life Inc. We are ready and determined to smash ANY attempt to separate the struggle of Black America from the struggle of our Brothers in Africa. Furthermore we stand in vigilance against any attempt to discredit the liberation struggles in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Afroamerica.

Consequently we are particularly angry about all the lately occurring attempts in U. S. periodicals to justify South Africa's system of Hitlerian racism. They not only have tried to turn Afro-Americans against the struggle of our brothers in South Africa, but they have also attempted to depict Apartheid as a benevolent system, which if it has any drawbacks they are progressively being eliminated--just like it is in the U.S.A. As far as the U.S. is concerned we all know that this is a blatant lie; that in fact racial discrimination and inequality are INCREASING in virtually every sphere of American life. Likewise we assumed it to be only bestial propaganda to suggest that Apartheid is progressively more humane in practice, or has the objective of giving human rights to ALL men in South Africa. But to confirm or deny our usually reliable suspicions we asked the African National Congress, a South African Liberation organization which is now based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to give us the true facts about Apartheid. So to clarify the facts for Afroamerica and the friends of both of our liberation struggles the ANC writes the following article :

(next page)

APARTHEID IS DOOMED

The definition of apartheid has changed so often that the adherents of this police-state system have now abandoned in South Africa any attempt to justify their policies. They have resorted to naked repression and brutal persecution demanding that all opposition to their fascist rule must cease.

The Dutch Reformed Churches built up an illusory image of apartheid as total territorial segregation and found Old Testament theology a suitable theoretical basis for their views. However, Verwoerd's Broederbond ideologists rejected the views advocated by their own church and insisted that apartheid meant "seperate development of the different races in their own areas". They could not define the sovereign rights of these race-groups and dismally failed to allocate the land areas where the "separate" races were supposed to reside.

The latest version of apartheid is a rehash of previous definitions except that it confounds the theory of apartheid further by introducing the concept of "nationhood". Dr. Hilgard Muller, South African Foreign Minister, when speaking at a recent session of the U. N., described the aim of apartheid as being the setting-up of "multi-national states in South Africa". The absurdity of having a series of "nations" neatly segregated according to the dictates of Dr. Verwoerd is exposed by the existence of a single racially-integrated economy whose basis is exploitation of African labour. The distribution of land is another factor which repudiates the new-fangled idea of "multi-nationalism." The Whites who constitute one-fifth of the population own 87% of the land while the Non-Whites who are 4/5 of the population hold 13%. This is the basis of the oppression of the African people and cannot be reversed by political sophistry.

But apartheid is even more rudely repudiated in practice. In the Cape Province alone there are three million Africans living outside of th

African Reserves or ghettos. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 abrogated the rights of residence, movement and employment of all Africans who live in the urban areas. Their existence will be regimented by administrative control, shuttling them backwards and forwards to the White man's mines, farms and industries as cheap labour. THE FRAGILE CONCEPT OF "SEPERATE RIGHTS IN SEPERATE RACIAL AREAS" WAS BLOWN SKYHIGH BY THE RECENT REFUSAL TO GRANT TRADING LICENSES TO AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN IN SOWETO TOWNSHIP WHICH IS INHABITED BY AFRICANS ONLY. These Africans in the urban areas have been rendered completely STATELESS, RIGHTLESS, and a floating mass of CHEAP LABOUR.

It is this rigorous oppression of the Africans that serves as the basis of the apparent economic stability of South Africa. It is, no doubt, the source from which the storm to destroy apartheid will break. The South African economy cannot be racially sub-divided because a condition for its buoyancy is the indispensibility of African labor. Land distribution rules out any justification of apartheid.

These are the factors which govern the approaching doom of apartheid.

(Reprinted from Spotlight On South Africa, Vol. 3, No. 5, (January 29, 1965) pp. 1&2. The right to reprint this article was enthusiastically given by the Editor of Spotlight On South Africa, Brother Hadebe to the Brother Editors of SOULBOOK)

* emphasis was added by the editors of SOULBOOK.

I believe that as long as we have imperialism in front of us, attacking, it would be ridiculous for us here to do as in the fable, argue whether they are greyhounds or hound dogs, whether they are made of paper or of iron..... Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, of the Republic of Cuba. "Speech by Fidel Castro on the Vietnam War," The Militant, (Monday, April 19, 1965), page 5.

THE NEGRO IMAGE IN WESTERN ART

by
bobb hamilton

Editorial note: This is an extension of a speech given before the authorities of the New York City Department of Welfare during "Negro History Week."

Despite the title of this article, I am going to confine my survey to the United States in the main, since this country tells the world-- in between foreign aid grants-- that it is the leader of the West, and gets away with it, naturally (who would dare to defy Rome?). This is also "Negro History Week" and since this is the reason for having this panel, it is appropriate that I confine my comments to our great Democratic country--things close to home. I am an American you know, especially in War and in Voice of America broadcasts--Carl T. (thomas) Rowan speaks for me.

I shall briefly examine the field of literature here because my own interests lie there. Moreover, you will find the "image" most clearly delineated there. Drama and films are extensions of literature, so I shall draw heavily on that source. I do not consider "Aunt Jemima" and "Uncle Ben" art so we can discount most painting and sculpture by whites on the subject.

Art functions as an expressed attempt to document the feelings of the community. You cannot portray feelings that do not exist: they are tied up with and tied to the feelings of the people who make and support them. Therefore, if the blacks are portrayed in American art as clowns and idiots, as happy-go-lucky ne'er do wells, as fools and children who never grow up, this is because the white community--which controls the media of all communications here--feels this way, the protestations of the white liberal notwithstanding! They! They who produce the books, they who write the plays, who make the movies, who set the standards for this rotting society, they make the standards! They believe this about us; they perpetuate this image--it is pragmatic, it is useful, it is convenient for their rudimentary consciences; it is comfortable for them. It means that America, despite its declarations, its pieties in the U. N., is a racist country. This country still considers itself European and Western--if you will forgive the redundancy--and we all know the Western attitude toward other cultures. Colonialism, with its (cont.)

cultural arrogance still exists vis-à-vis the Black American. Whites claim to embody the repository of all that's valuable, and moral; in politics no other thoughts worthy of consideration exist outside the West, to say nothing of religion and art. How then could a people who are descendents of Africans--slaves non the less--be anything but sub-human? Subhuman I say to be counterpoised against, or as a limit to which no white person must sink?

Because we were economically valuable we were not physically destroyed as was the Indian; they destroyed our humanity and preserved our babies. In both abolitionist and pro-slavery literature the blacks were portrayed as loyal childlike beings, objects of contempt to the latter and objects of pity for the former. Only those of part-white ancestry in the literature those days had the sense and the courage to lead revolts, to hate and defy the system that degraded them.

The extension of the pro-slavery image was the movie, "Birth of a Nation," wherein the blacks are portrayed as lascivious primitives dressed in the confiscated clothes of their former masters after the Civil War. The good darkie was the "aunt Jemima" prototype who beat the ex-slave out of "massa's" house. We have here the beginning of a change, not an improvement, of the image. The oaf is replaced by the banjo-eyed clown and the loyal, all forgiving servant. Make way for Hattie McDaniels, make way for Stepn' Fetchit, make way for Willie Best!

Now we come to the character who has all of the virtues (college education, good job, good family) but one--a white skin! He consistently tries to prove himself, that he is not like the others, that he should be accepted on his own merits. "Peaceable Lane" is an example of this type of literature. Our own self-image could not help but be overwhelmed by this social disease of distortion. The "Negro Renaissance" produced admirable works, but underneath it all was the desire, the obsession to be like white folks. The tenor was still that of a beggar trying to imitate the best of the white writers. Begging heroes--get the picture? They only wanted in; they only wanted to be like whites. Only on rare occasions did it occur to them there was as much value in being Afro-American as there was in being Jewish, Italian, or Irish American. Roi Ottley, Countee Cullen, and at times Langston Hughes were the exceptions.

America has distorted its African image because it prefers a European image. All one has to do to see how African this country is, is to snap on the radio and listen to the so-called rock n' roll that the white folks ridiculed, then stole, and who are now making millions from--to say nothing of jazz which their brothers in Europe recognized long before they woke up to its value. Watch the "frog", ..(cont.)

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the "monkey," the "twist," or rehashes of the "charleston," the "black-bottom," the "cakewalk," and the "foxtrot"--the latter made white millionaires of Vernon and Irene Castle. We must make our own image now; white folks are too guilty and too sick to make up for what they have done to us. Writers like LeRoi Jones, John Killens, and Loftin Mitchell are doing just that, correcting the image....I am also. The distortion of us began as a justification for slavery and exploitation. It still goes on right now.

Far back into the ancestors of our Black ancestors we were once a proud race, strong, clean-limbed, lithe. Africa was then the cultural capital of the world. Fleet trading ships sailed misty seas to get to African ports, where Black merchants vied for gold and jewels with rich silks and tantalizing spices. Fat, wise kings sat on soft pillows and billowing rugs, handing out edicts to rival and surpass those of the fabled Solomon. And white men were just poking their snotty noses out of European caves and muttering, "ungh.".....Hospitals performed brain surgery which was not done in Europe until three centuries later....But like Greece, like Rome, like Egypt, like America, the Kingdoms of Africa one by one crumbled and fell...But Black men still remembered a time when they had been great, when they had shown the world a civilization no Caucasian mind could achieve. And they hoped for the future...

So go down, Black Moses. Go down to Africa-Land. Go down to the Congo, to Zambia, to Ghana. Forget the imperialist. Forget Charlie, unlock whitey's arms from your vision and go down, Black Moses.

(Excerpts from an essay written by an Afroamerican high school student--- after he had read SOULBOOK I)

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